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The public charities of
Massachusetts during...

Boston

1876

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THE
PUBLIC CHARITIES OF MASSACHUSETTS

DURING THE
CENTURY ENDING JAN. 1, 1876:

A
REPORT MADE TO THE MASSACHUSETTS CENTENNIAL
COMMISSION, FEB. 1, 1876,

UNDER DIRECTION OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BOARD OF STATE CHARITIES.

By F. B. SANBORN,
*Chairman of the Board of State Charities, and Secretary of
the American Social Science Association.*

BOSTON:
WRIGHT & POTTER, STATE PRINTERS
79 MILK STREET (CORNER OF FEDERAL).
1876.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE TWELFTH ANNUAL REPORT.

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THE MASSACHUSETTS PUBLIC CHARITIES.

INTRODUCTORY.

The record of Public Charity in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for a hundred years, if written out with appropriate detail of incident and development, would be one of the most important chapters of our political and social history. For it would show by what steps, and in what inherited and traditional ways, the noble spirit of the Puritan statesmen who founded Massachusetts has manifested itself in charitable methods, in public institutions, in the general habit and tendency of our population; until we have established in this little corner of the world, not, perhaps, the best system of public charity, but the best foundation and atmosphere for such a system that can be seen at the present time among a people so numerous and heterogeneous as ours, anywhere on the habitable globe. And this is in due fulfilment of the philanthropic purpose declared by the first governor of Massachusetts, John Winthrop, who, in 1629, before he departed from England to rule over his infant Colony, proposed to himself these reasons, among others, for leading emigrants out of overburdened England to the freedom and abundance of a new country:—

How rare

["This Land grows weary of her inhabitants, so as man, who is the most pretious of all creatures, is here more vile and base than the earth we tread upon, and of less price among us than a horse or a sheep. Many of our people perish for want of sustenance and employment; many others live miserably, and not to the honor of so bountiful a housekeeper as the Lord of heaven and earth is, through the scarcity of the fruits of the earth. [All of our towns complain of the burden of poor people, and strive by all means to rid any such as they have, and to keep off such as would come to

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them. I must tell you that our dear mother finds her family so overcharged as she hath been forced to deny harbor to her own children; witness the statutes against cottages and inmates. And thus it is come to pass that children, servants and neighbors, especially if they be poor, are counted the greatest burthens,—*which, if things were right, would be the chiefest earthly blessings.*"

It was to make things "right" in this respect as in others, of which history speaks more loudly, that Winthrop and his companions came to Massachusetts, and here established their religious Commonwealth. They brought with them, as a matter of course, such laws and customs as then existed in England; and among these the famous poor-law of 1601,—the *43d Elizabeth Act* of Parliament, generally considered as the basis of all subsequent poor-law legislation in England and in New England. But so different was the spirit of Winthrop's colony from that prevalent in England during his youth,* and so materially has the course of legislation been modified in New England by the great difference existing between our circumstances and those of the mother country, that it is impossible to draw a close parallel between our poor-laws and those of England, either in their aim, their details or their results. These statutes in England were made necessary by the presence of a great and persistent class of poor persons, many of whom were also vicious characters, needing all the restraints of the law. Hence the severity of the early statutes against vagrants,—laws which were, in fact, the germ of the whole British poor-law system, and have made no inconsiderable part of it. But in New England, no such pauper class existed at the outset; and our arrangements for relieving the poor have been such as to prevent the formation of such a class.

PUBLIC CHARITY BEFORE 1775.

There are three distinct historical epochs in the development of New England,—the Colonial, the Provincial, and the National. The first may be said to have closed in 1692, the second in 1776, while the third still continues. As Col-

* John Winthrop was born in 1588.

THE COLONIAL CHARITIES.

onies, the people of New England in substance governed themselves under the forms of a theocracy; as Provinces, they were governed by the laws of England, with more or less local modification; as States, they have once more made their own laws according to the forms of a democracy, but also under the constant check of national considerations. The poor-laws and the institutions of public charity will be found to have taken a decided and positive character from each of these three periods, although their present form might have been mainly the same, had it been possible for either the Colonial or the Provincial period to continue till now.

Of the six New England Colonies,—Plymouth, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New Haven and Connecticut,—it is needless here to speak of more than two,—Massachusetts and Connecticut; for these, in respect to their poor-laws, are the only ones which offer any differences worthy of note. Indeed, the practical dependence of Plymouth and New Hampshire on Massachusetts, and of New Haven on Connecticut, with the insignificance of Rhode Island, previous to 1692, makes the history of New England substantially one with the history of Massachusetts and Connecticut.* As early as 1673, both these chief Colonies had published books of laws, in which, with all due respect for the Hebrew code, they had incorporated much of the wisdom of the common and the civil law, and much that was peculiar to their own novel circumstances. In these statutes, brief but sufficient provision was made for the relief of the poor. Every town was to support and relieve its own people when in distress, and a residence of three months only was sufficient to give a settlement in any town, provided the resident were not warned to depart by the authorities of the town. Under this simple code were expended the trifling sums which poverty demanded for its relief in the hundred towns that then held all the New England people.

[The Indian war of 1675-1676 changed all this, so far as Massachusetts and its dependency, Plymouth, were con-

* The whole population of New England, two centuries ago, is estimated by Dr. Palfrey at about 50,000, of which Massachusetts had more than half, and Connecticut (then including New Haven), nearly a quarter.

SUPPLEMENT TO THE TWELFTH ANNUAL REPORT.

cerned. By Act of the General Court in 1675, a new class of poor persons, dependent upon the whole Colony for relief, was recognized and provided for. "This Court," it was then said,—

"Considering the inconvenience and damage which may arise to particular towns by such as, being forced from their habitations by the present calamity of the war, do repair unto them for succor, do order and declare that such persons, being inhabitants of this jurisdiction, who are so forced from their habitations and repair to other plantations for relief, shall not, by virtue of their residence in such plantations they repair unto, be accounted or reputed inhabitants thereof, or imposed upon them according to law. But, in such cases, and where necessity requires, by reason of the inability of relations, &c., they shall be paid out of the public treasury."

This Act of 1675 is worthy of special notice, because, so far as we know, it was peculiar to Massachusetts, and because it was the germ of that distinction between the poor of the State and the poor of the towns and cities, which, for the past hundred years, and especially since European immigration set in so actively about thirty years ago, has made one of the most prominent features of the charitable administration in this State. Massachusetts is one of the few States in which a separate class of state paupers is to be found; and in no other State has their number or the cost of their support ever been so great as here.*

The Colonial statute of 1675, above quoted, was certainly designed to be limited in its operations, by the exigencies which demanded it. In subsequent years, however, similar allowances continued to be made. The principle on which they were founded had been admitted; and exigencies were sure to arise in which they might, very plausibly, be required.

* The earliest legislation on the subject of paupers in New England seems to have been in 1636, when the colonial governments, both of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, gave power to any shire court, or any two magistrates thereof, to determine all differences about the lawful settling and providing for poor persons, "and to dispose of all unsettled persons into such towns as they shall judge to be most fit for the maintenance and employment of such persons and families, for the ease of the country." It may be that 1639 is the true date of this enactment for the Massachusetts Colony; at any rate, this was the settled practice before 1640, and until 1675.

THE POOR-LAWS OF THE PROVINCE.

In the record made of these grants, they are mixed up with military accounts and other public charges, nor do we find any separate statement of their amount for more than a hundred years after, during which period many laws relating to pauperism had been passed, and the great principles of our complex code of legal settlement had been established. [About 1691, the office of overseers of the poor was established in Massachusetts, having already existed for a century in England. In 1692 relatives were obliged by law to support each other, and a few years later power was given to justices of the peace to bind out poor children. In 1700 we find the first law for bonding alien passengers; and in 1767 the first law for removing poor persons from Massachusetts, if they had no settlement in any town.] Thus, in less than a century and a half after Winthrop made his protest against such a practice in England (as quoted above), it had become the law in his own Colony, and among his own descendants. Nor was it without justification; neither did it work such hardship as in the mother country. The occasion for it, and the general condition of Massachusetts between 1675 and 1775, may be briefly touched upon before coming to the public charities of the century now closing.

In the Colonial period, the immigrants to Massachusetts were a substantial and self-supporting class. But the increase of trade and the stimulus of easy living soon brought to our shores a host of poor and worthless persons, against whose intrusion into the community the old Puritan discipline no longer had force. Consequently we find the provincial laws everywhere becoming more stringent against vagrants and strangers, and the conditions of pauper settlement were made more difficult at each revision of the statutes. In 1701, by the Massachusetts law, a residence of one year was made necessary for a settlement in any town, and, by the same Act, captains of vessels were required to give bonds for the support of their passengers, of whom the infirm and old were to be returned whence they came. In Connecticut, about the same time, a still more exacting law was passed. Instead of the old provision, by which a three months' residence without

warning was allowed to give a settlement, it was declared, as early as 1702, that no "foreigner" could gain a settlement in any town without the express permission of the town or its authorities. Along with these laws went others, denouncing severe punishment for vagrancy, and authorizing the removal from one town to another of persons having a settlement elsewhere. Until 1775, and, no doubt for a quarter of a century afterward, under the stress of war and the disorders which befel our trade and domestic industry, pauperism and vagrancy increased in Massachusetts, and, of course, the class of "unsettled" poor grew larger in consequence of the stringent laws against their gaining a settlement in the towns. After 1775 this class was provided for at the expense of the State, as they had previously been at the cost of the Province, and doubtless with greater liberality than in the rest of New England. This circumstance, together with the larger trade and more abundant wealth of Massachusetts, very early attracted within her limits large numbers of the unsettled poor. In the other Provinces, though the English notions of settlement and removal prevailed, yet so small, comparatively speaking, was the proletary class, and so abundant were the means of labor and living, that very few of the hardships complained of by English writers, from De Foe and Adam Smith down to Senior and Miss Martineau, were experienced in New England in the corresponding period.

For the rest, the provincial epoch of our history witnessed the development of a system of relieving the poor which was substantially the same as that now in use. The office of overseer of the poor had been created in Massachusetts before 1700, and became common in the other Provinces before 1750. Almshouses were built still earlier, and workhouses or houses of correction existed early in the eighteenth century. The present mode of assessing and expending the local taxes from which the poor were aided was in use all over New England at the same time.

This method of public relief, corresponding to the parochial system in England and Scotland, has never been superseded in Maine, Vermont or Connecticut, and is only partially sup-

planted in New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Massachusetts by the parallel method of county or state relief for the poor. As already mentioned, ours is the only New England State that has always provided, fully and directly, from the state treasury, for the support of the poor having no settlement in the towns. The other States which did so at one period, have either ceased entirely to make such provision, or have restricted it to certain small classes of the poor, or else, as in Connecticut, have contrived to keep the number of the unsettled poor very small.

PUBLIC CHARITY SINCE 1775.

At the opening of the century which this Report covers, the population dwelling within the present limits of Massachusetts somewhat exceeded 300,000, or less than one-fifth of the number (1,652,000) now inhabiting the Commonwealth. Of the population in 1776, about 5,000 were colored persons, including Indians, and about 300,000 were whites, mostly of English or Scotch descent. Throughout New England, until after 1790, the people were more homogeneous than is common in new countries. For, although the original English settlers had been reinforced by considerable numbers from Scotland, Ireland, Holland, and even France, yet nine-tenths of the people were English, and so great was this preponderance as to make the name *New England* a strictly appropriate one. From 1790 to 1830, the immigration from Europe was very small. In 1800, scarcely more than one in a hundred of the New England people was foreign born; in 1810, scarcely more than one in eighty; and from 1820 to 1830, not more than one in sixty. But from 1830 to the present time, the stream of emigration has flowed incessantly and in great force from Great Britain and the continent of Europe to the United States, and Massachusetts has received her full share. In 1840, at least one in every twenty of her inhabitants was foreign born; in 1850, not less than one in six; in 1860, more than one in five; and at the present time probably one-fourth of the 1,652,000 who inhabit Massachusetts were either born in foreign countries, or are the children of foreign parents.

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One consequence of this great influx of immigrants has been to increase the necessity for public charity in nearly all its various forms; and now that the density of population in Massachusetts (about 212 to the square mile) equals that of any but the three or four most populous countries in Europe, it is not strange that we find in our fast-growing cities and large towns many of the social maladies and evils that infest older countries, and that make the numerous forms of public charity indispensable. Up to 1818 there was no hospital or asylum for the insane in Massachusetts; now there are no less than eight. Up to 1821, when the Massachusetts General Hospital was opened, there was nothing that could properly be called a hospital in Massachusetts for sane patients; now there are at least twenty, all of them larger and many of them as well endowed as the Massachusetts Hospital was at its opening. Until 1800, when the Boston Female Asylum (an orphan-home for girls) was founded, there were no orphan asylums in the Commonwealth; now there are more than twenty. Until 1826 there were no reformatories, public or private; now there are two supported by the State, three or four by the cities, and as many more by bequests or private charity, besides the State Primary School with 450 pupils at Monson, and numerous truant schools supported by the smaller cities. An infirmary for diseases of the eye and ear was opened in 1824, but no school for the blind until 1833, nor for the deaf until 1866; now there are 120 blind pupils in the Massachusetts School for the Blind at South Boston, and 120 deaf pupils under instruction in the two schools for deaf-mutes at Northampton and at Boston, besides 80 more whom the State supports in the deaf-mute school at Hartford, in Connecticut. An idiot school was first opened by Dr. Howe in 1848, and an infant asylum for foundlings and neglected infants in 1868. All these schools, and most of the hospitals, have either been maintained or aided from the public revenues raised by taxation. Besides these establishments, and others to be named hereafter, which may strictly be called *public* charities, there is a great and ever-increasing number of private charities of every character, magnitude and degree

ANNUAL COST OF PUBLIC CHARITIES.

of importance. The Massachusetts General Hospital, if classed as a private charity, must be reckoned the wealthiest of this class, possessing property which is now valued at more than \$2,700,000, and receiving a yearly income of more than \$250,000. These large sums represent the munificence of thousands, and the accumulations of more than sixty years; but the *Smith Charities*, in the Connecticut Valley, with an office of disbursement at Northampton, now possess property valued at nearly \$1,500,000, all the gift of one man, with its accumulations during the last thirty years only. It is quite impossible to ascertain correctly, or even to form a very exact estimate, of the amount of money annually expended in private charities by organized societies in Massachusetts; but it cannot well be less than \$2,500,000, and may even amount to \$3,000,000. Excluding educational charities from the list, however, the amount expended in private charities may not exceed \$1,500,000. This is about the sum also which is expended in a year by the State, the cities and the towns for the relief of the poor. In educational charities, including reformatories, the State and the cities expend not less than \$300,000 more; for the support of hospitals, etc. (besides what has been mentioned above), \$100,000 more; for state pensions to disabled soldiers, and the families of those slain in the service, \$400,000 more; and for the maintenance of convicts and other prisoners, about \$500,000 more. This would give a total of \$2,300,000 in public money, and \$1,500,000 in private funds expended for objects that may be styled charitable,—\$3,800,000 in all; to which, if we add the \$500,000 paid for prisoners, we have an aggregate of more than *four and a quarter millions* of dollars paid in Massachusetts during the year 1875 for the purposes indicated. In 1775, it is doubtful if all the money thus expended was more than \$300,000, or one-fourteenth of the present amount.

THE PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC CHARITY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

After the above statement, it will, very likely, seem paradoxical to maintain that the evils which public charity seeks to control, as well as to alleviate, have been in any degree

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lessened in Massachusetts since 1775. But it must be remembered that a growing commonwealth, like the human body, is totally renewed and changed after certain periods of time; that the Massachusetts of to-day is scarcely more like that of a hundred years ago, than the full-grown man is like the infant slumbering in his cradle; that modern civilization has vastly developed vice and misfortune and disease, as well as wealth, comfort and material power; and that the administration of public charity has done well, if it can show at the end of a hundred years such accomplished results (along with much unavoidable evil) as we see to-day in Massachusetts. There is much to be deplored, much also to be corrected (with the help of God we shall correct it) in the domain of public and private charity in this ancient Commonwealth. But, thanks to noble men and patient women, to sound principles and to their faithful application, the record of the past hundred years is a good one, and we may enter upon the new century with hope and faith.

If, then, public charity has done something in Massachusetts to control the evils which, in European countries, seem capable only of slight alleviations, and to reduce the number of the dependent classes to a minimum, let us see more precisely how it has been done. Our philanthropists have first classified, then educated, and finally protected these dependents, and at each step in the process the number of the self-supporting has been increased. To separate the young from the old, the vicious from the honest poor, the invalid and insane from the able-bodied and the sane, was the first step; and this classification, once made, released many from a condition of absolute dependence, and put them in the way of self-support. The children thus cease to be paupers, and become pupils in some school, or find places in families, where they gradually rise to a condition of independence; the sick and the insane are more rapidly restored to health; and the vicious, placed under wholesome restraint, are compelled to earn part of their own subsistence. Next to classification comes instruction; and here it is that the Massachusetts system has been particularly efficacious. In schools for the blind, for the deaf-mute, for

THE PROBLEM OF CHARITY IN MASSACHUSETTS.

the idiot, we have trained those classes, elsewhere so dependent, to a very satisfactory degree of independence; in orphan asylums and reformatories and industrial schools we have educated the neglected and vicious among the young, so that thousands of that class have become respectable members of society; and this work has been undertaken by the public, and paid for by the public treasury, in this Commonwealth, to an extent elsewhere unknown.

Finally, we are now undertaking the supervision and protection of the dependent classes in ways hitherto unpractised, and with results in the highest degree gratifying. From the days of Edward Livingston and Josiah Quincy to the present time, this threefold work has gone on, in the United States, now faster, now slower, and in very different ways in different parts of the country. Of late years it has been more actively prosecuted, and in certain States assumes the form of a complete and co-ordinated system.

Perhaps in no one State has this been done more completely, though still imperfectly, than in Massachusetts since 1863. Here was a field for applying on a large scale whatever wisdom had been handed down, or could be learned by experience, in regard to the treatment of the defective and dependent classes. A population of more than a million, averaging nearly two hundred to the square mile,—which, as has been said, approaches the density of European populations,*—with a greater variety of employments and a more equal mixture of city, village and rustic inhabitants than could be found elsewhere in America, was also so curiously circumstanced, in respect to laws and customs, that it presented nearly every problem found in the social experience of modern Europe, with this great exception, that democratic ideas prevailed, and had long prevailed, more fully here than anywhere else in the world. Moreover, the natural tendency of the Massachusetts people to philanthropy had led to the creation of nearly every class of benevolent institutions, except

* Ireland has now less than one hundred and eighty to the square mile, Scotland but little more than one hundred; Prussia has but few more, and Spain and Portugal less, than Massachusetts.

the founding hospital. We had, in 1863, asylums for the blind, the insane, the deaf-mute, the idiotic, the inebriate; schools for the young of these classes, for paupers, and for juvenile delinquents; prisons of three or four grades; hospitals for most maladies; almshouses, public and private; charitable societies of every kind; and a more careful classification of the objects of charity than existed anywhere else in America. We had two distinct systems of public relief for the poor: one administered by the State in half a dozen establishments, averaging hundreds of inmates; the other administered by three hundred and thirty cities and towns, in two hundred and twenty almshouses (averaging a dozen or fifteen inmates, but ranging all the way from the great Boston receptacle at Deer Island, with its hundreds, to the cottage of some hill-town, with only an old couple for tenants, and an occasional vagrant who straggled along and begged a night's lodging), and in thousands of private families where the poor were supported or aided. Probably there could not have been found in the whole world a community better fitted for the application of the true principle of public relief, when discovered, or for discovering by experiment what that principle is.

Our Commonwealth was fortunate, also, in possessing a citizen,—a son of Massachusetts, of whom she has long been proud, and whom she now tenderly laments,—who, by genius and by long experience, was well fitted to perceive and apply the laws,—spiritual no less than economic,—which govern the administration of public charity. Dr. Howe had come to be recognized for many years before his death as the foremost philanthropist of his age and country,—it might even be said, of the whole world in his time. Happily combining theory and practice, the seeing eye and the helping hand, he had given examples of his practical philanthropy in two hemispheres, and had received the honors and decorations of republics, kingdoms and empires in acknowledgment of his services to humanity. As he was entering the confines of age, but with perceptions undimmed and the swift sagacity of his nature unimpaired, the discerning choice of his friend,

Governor Andrew, gave him a place on the Massachusetts Board of Charities, and his colleagues were glad to make him their chairman, his years and talents well befitting the position. After serving there for five years, Dr. Howe said, in his annual Report, speaking for the whole Board:—

“Longer acquaintance with the condition of the dependents strengthens the belief that the existence of whole classes of defectives, of paupers and of criminals, is not among the essentials, but the accidents, of a highly civilized state; and that the number and condition of those classes is largely under human control.”*

This statement is more positive, but in the same direction as that made in the Report three years earlier (1867), where it was said:—

“The purpose of charity in New England has been to diminish the number of the helpless, to make them sounder, stronger, more hopeful and self-reliant. Justice, no less than mercy, has been in the thoughts of our people; a justice not satisfied with almsgiving, but seeking zealously to establish a social condition in which alms would be less and less needed. Painful as the sights of woe in many of our charitable institutions must be, they are made more tolerable by the thought that in America—the home of the poor man—we are in the way to throw off and neutralize much of the misery handed down to us from older countries and less hopeful times.”†

Dr. Howe's policy, in its full development, requires thorough classification, and a diffusion among the people, so far as possible, of the exceptional classes with which public charity is compelled to deal. All the measures of the Board of Charities have tended in this direction, while, at the same time, it has advocated and in part exercised a strict visitation and supervision, in behalf of the State, of the children and poor persons who are thus distributed among the general population, instead of being cooped up in great public establishments. This policy involved also careful instruction of

* Sixth Annual Report of the Board of State Charities, p. xix. Boston: 1870.

† Third Annual Report of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities, p. lix. Boston: 1867.

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those capable of being taught—if blind, deaf or feeble-minded, no less than if possessed of all their senses and faculties. It demanded a more varied and domestic treatment of the insane, more persistent efforts to keep them employed and exercising in the open air, and a smaller outlay of money and of labor, to bring the insane of all degrees of curability within the walls of great hospitals. It was accompanied with diligent investigations into the circumstances of the poor who apply for relief, and the prompt removal to the homes of their kindred, or to other places where they properly belong, of such paupers as the State ought not to support. In this part of its work, the Board had been preceded, and continued to be greatly aided, by another member, Dr. Henry B. Wheelwright, who first brought order out of the chaos which enveloped the official relations of the State and the town authorities in regard to paupers and poor-law expenditures.

The example set by Massachusetts, since 1863, has already been followed in Rhode Island, and now New Hampshire is repeating the same experience. In course of years, we may reasonably expect Maine, Vermont and Connecticut to adopt a similar policy; but before that time, probably, Massachusetts will have come nearer to the present system of poor-law administration in those three States; having passed from (1) Local Relief without State supervision, through a period of (2) Mixed Local and State Relief, to (3) Local Relief supplemented and supervised by the State. These are the three progressive stages of poor-law administration in Massachusetts; the first having prevailed from 1775 to 1854, and the second and third now existing side by side, until, in process of time, the third stage shall take the place of both. In the opinion of those best qualified to judge, this third method—Local (or Municipal) Relief, supplemented and supervised by the State—is that which must ultimately be adopted in order to reduce pauperism in New England to a minimum, and keep it there. By means of it, coupled, as it naturally would be, with a good understanding between the poor-law authorities of the several States, such as now exists

JOSIAH QUINCY ON PAUPERISM.

between the Overseers of the Poor in different towns of the same State, it will still be easy to prevent the formation or continuance in New England of such a persistent class of paupers as is now the curse of the mother country, and of other European nations.

THE FLOW AND EBB OF PAUPERISM IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Our recent experience in regard to pauperism is the more worthy of note, because, for the first fifty or sixty years of this century of our national existence, this evil was apparently gaining ground, and its increase did, in fact, occasion serious anxiety and even alarm. That "great public character," as he has been justly styled, the late Josiah Quincy, who, with quite other gifts and acquisitions, but with as keen a sense of public duty, preceded Dr. Howe in the successful maintenance of sound principles of charity and of penal law, turned his attention, more than half a century since, to the questions we are now considering. It was then the conclusion of his broad common-sense, viewing the facts as they came to his notice, that pauperism was increasing in Massachusetts, and had been ever since 1794. In his valuable, and now extremely rare report on Massachusetts pauperism, made to the general court in 1821, Mr. Quincy gave attention to both classes of the public poor,—those relieved by the town at their own cost, and those for whose relief the State reimbursed the towns.* He judged that the town's poor had not diminished in number since 1794, while those supported by the State had very much increased, both in numbers and cost of support. He gave the whole expense of the State's poor in 1801 as \$28,000,—an increase of more than a hundred per cent. since 1791-2; in 1820, this sum had again increased in a startling proportion, being then \$72,000. Between 1791 and 1820, therefore (thirty years), this public burden had been multiplied fivefold, while the population had not doubled. During this period, also, the foreign immigration to the whole country was less than 200,000, of which probably less than

* There were then no cities in Massachusetts,—Boston not having received its charter and become a city until 1823, with a population of about 50,000.

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a tenth part found its way to Massachusetts; so that a great portion of the increased pauper burden must have been due to causes at home. Such a discovery was startling in its prospects for the future. In the language of Mr. Quincy:—

“Without pretending to assert that the state of the payments out of the treasury of the State is a true criterion of the increase of the whole amount of pauper burden in Massachusetts, your committee do consider themselves justified by the fact, in concluding that the pernicious consequences of the existing system are palpable, that they are increasing, and that they impudently call for the interference of the legislature, in some manner equally prompt and efficacious.”

Mr. Quincy then considers the question of taking away all public provision for the poor, as recommended in England, in 1818, by the Earl of Sheffield and Mr. Brougham. This recommendation he justly concludes to be aversive to the feelings of the citizens of Massachusetts, and he takes for granted, “that the present system of making some public, or compulsory provision for the poor, is too deeply riveted in the affections or the moral sentiment of our people to be loosened by theories, however plausible, or supported by however high names or authority.” He therefore closed his report with a recommendation that a committee should be appointed to report “a system of town or district almshouses, having a reference,” he adds, “to placing the whole subject of the poor in the Commonwealth under the regular and annual superintendence of the legislature.” This is the first hint of a definite pauper system for the whole State, and this, it will be noticed, is more than a hint. It is a proposition to place the whole subject of pauperism, in all its details, whether relating to the town's poor or the state's poor, under the control of the central government of the Commonwealth.

In 1830 we find another legislative commission reporting that the sum required for state paupers in that year is \$66,583, and that the increase for the last five years had been an average of \$3,400 a year, or \$17,000 since 1825. This would make the cost, in 1825, about \$50,000, from which it would

DECREASE OF PAUPERISM IN CONCORD.

seem that there had then been a decrease of \$22,000 in five years. A commission in 1831 reported the average annual cost of state paupers from 1826 to 1831 to be \$56,916.86. And so the cost and the number of the public poor kept more than even pace with the growth of Massachusetts in population and wealth, until about twenty years ago, when the tide began to turn the other way,—slowly at first, but afterward more perceptibly, though never in all parts of Massachusetts alike at the same time.

How pauperism has ebbed in some towns and villages, if the number only of the public poor is considered, may be seen by the example of Concord, the oldest inland town in Massachusetts, and one well situated to serve as a test of the ordinary social and economical influences upon the condition of the poor. In 1832, forty-four years ago, Concord had a population of just about 2,000, and among them, probably, there were not 50 foreigners. At the present time it has about 2,700 inhabitants, of whom at least 700 are either foreign born or of foreign parentage, chiefly Irish. The number of paupers was greater in Concord in 1832, as shown by the official report, than it is now, yet half of the present pauperism is among the class which has come into the town and the country since 1832; so that the 1,950 native-born inhabitants in that year must have furnished twice as many paupers as the 2,000 natives did in 1875. In other words, pauperism among people of the old New England stock in this town has decreased nearly or quite one-half since 1832. All over New England the same fact is to be noted, though the improvement in the condition of the native-born inhabitants is not always so conspicuous as in this instance. At the same time, there are few towns, perhaps none, where the cost of relieving the public poor, even if they are much fewer in number, is not greater than it was forty, twenty, or even fifteen years ago. It has been noticed all over the world that the same thing has been taking place,—the public expenditure for the poor being greater than formerly, even where their number is smaller.

In regard to this increased cost of relieving the poor, Mr.

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Goschen, President of the English Poor-Law Board in 1870, made some judicious remarks in his report for that year. He said:—

"The same number of paupers cost at the present day very much more than twenty years ago. Several causes have contributed to this result. It cannot be denied that the more humane views which have prevailed during the last few years, as to the treatment of the sick poor, have added most materially to the poor-law expenditure. Workhouses, originally designed mainly as a test for the able-bodied, have, especially in the large towns, been of necessity gradually transferred into infirmaries for the sick; and the higher standard for hospital accommodations has had a material effect upon the expenditure."

This explanation of the increase in the English outlay for the poor is true also in New England; besides which, we have the additional circumstance that our currency depreciated greatly in purchasing power during the civil war, so that a dollar goes no further now than seventy-five cents did before 1861.

Until the financial difficulties of 1874-5, throwing thousands of persons in Massachusetts out of employment, there had been in the State at large, along with the steady increase in cost, a more fluctuating but quite perceptible decrease in the number of the public poor since 1861. That decrease has been temporarily checked, but may at any time be renewed.

Mr. Quincy, in his report of 1821, estimates the pauper expenses of Massachusetts in 1820 at \$350,000 in gold, when the population was but little more than half a million; they were but about \$715,000 in gold in 1867, when her population was a million and a quarter, and when the comfort of the poor was much better cared for than in 1820. The number of state paupers in Massachusetts in 1832, judging by the official reports, was as great as in 1867, although the population of the State was then but half as large. Nor was the number of town paupers fully supported in 1832, much less than in 1867, though it must be admitted that the class of vagrants had in the latter year very much increased, and still

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more since. In the year 1858, the average number of poor persons supported in the 212 town and city almshouses of Massachusetts was reported as 3,254; in the four state almshouses, 2,769; total, 6,023. In 1869, the average number in 225 town and city almshouses was less than 3,000; in the state almshouses, 1,622; total, about 4,600; showing a decrease in eleven years of more than twenty-three per cent., or two per cent. a year. The cost of supporting the 6,023, in 1858, was about \$418,000 in gold; the cost of supporting the 4,600, in 1869, was, to be sure, nearly \$500,000 in currency, but this, reduced to gold, would be but about \$375,000; and when we consider the differences in prices between 1858 and 1869, it is probable that \$325,000 in the former year would go as far as \$500,000 in 1869. It is true that 1858 was a year specially noted for pauperism, in consequence of the great financial crisis of 1857, and that in 1859 the number of paupers fell from 6,023 to 5,250 in the town and state almshouses; but even that was an excess of 650 over the number reported ten years later. In 1860, the average number rose to 5,276; in 1861, in consequence of the first stress of the war, to 5,671; in 1862, to 5,800; but in 1863 the tide turned, and had been ebbing, with slight fluctuations, until 1874. The number in 1863 was 5,295; in 1864, 4,804; in 1865, 4,983; in 1866, 4,827; in 1867, 4,667; in 1868, 4,795; and in 1869, as has been said, 4,600. Let it be remembered, that from 1860 to 1865 the population increased but 36,000, while from 1865 to 1870 the increase was nearly 200,000, and the significance of these figures will be more plainly seen.

We find, also, that the average number of state and town paupers receiving indoor relief was 5,276 in 1860; 4,983 in 1865; and only 4,457 in 1870; a decrease, in ten years, of fifteen per cent., or one and a half per cent. a year. In the class of state paupers, in consequence chiefly of the labors of the Board of State Charities, the decrease was even greater. The average number of this class, including pauper inmates, was 2,537 in 1860, 2,591 in 1865, 2,150 in 1870, and 2,125 in 1871. The number receiving indoor relief from the State, on the first of October in each year, was as follows: (1860)

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2,322; (1861) 3,112; (1862) 2,748; (1863) 2,544; (1864) 2,307; (from the State and towns, 5,814;) (1865) 2,259; (state and towns, 6,110;) (1866) 2,148; (state and towns, 6,029;) (1867) 2,209; (state and towns, 6,116;) (1868) 2,142; (state and towns, 6,131;) (1869) 1,882; (state and towns, 5,727;) (1870) 1,737; (state and towns, 5,574;) (1871) 1,785 (state and towns, about 5,700). Here the comparison is imperfect, for we have not the exact number of those receiving indoor relief at the expense of the towns previous to 1865, and therefore cannot give the total of both classes of the poor, on the first of October, 1860 and 1861. It cannot well have been less than 6,400 at that date in 1860, and was probably 7,000 in 1861. Here, too, for special reasons, the numbers vary more from year to year than in the comparisons given above, and the regularity of the decrease in permanent pauperism is not so obvious. But the general fact is not to be disputed, and is all the more worthy of notice, because from 1865 to 1872 our population was fast gaining, while at the same time the state pensions to soldiers and their families, which had been as high as \$2,400,000 in the year 1863-4, fell off to less than \$550,000 in 1871, and do not now much exceed \$400,000 a year. Naturally, the reduction in the pensions ("state aid") ought to increase the number of the public poor; yet we see this have increased less than the gain in population.

THE OLDEST CHARITABLE ESTABLISHMENTS—THE TOWN ALMSHOUSES.

Mr. Quincy in 1821, Mr. W. B. Calhoun and Rev. Dr. Tuckerman in 1832, report many interesting facts respecting those ancient institutions of public charity in Massachusetts, the Town Almshouses. [In 1864-5, the present writer, then Secretary of the Board of Charities, visited about a hundred of these establishments, and obtained information concerning more than a hundred others which there was not time to visit. At that period, there were 218 town and city almshouses; now there are about the same number. Of these, 214 made reports, in 1864, of their age, size, number of acres

THE TOWN ALMSHOUSES.

in the farm attached, etc.; and among these 214 almshouses, no less than 35 were built before 1800, and 61 between 1800 and 1830. Twenty-one were either of unknown date, or were not reported in this particular; of these, probably half were built before 1800. If this is so, we find *forty-six* built before that date, and sixty-one more before 1830, making in all one hundred and seven (or half) which were in 1864 at least thirty-four years old. Of the hundred and seven others, only *twenty-one* had been built since 1854, when the State Almshouses were opened. Many more, however, had been rebuilt since that time; and perhaps half those in the State had been considerably repaired since 1854. Probably about a quarter part of them were built of brick, and not more than that proportion have a good modern ventilation. The number of rooms in 210 almshouses was then 4,060; the number of windows, 8,551. The aggregate number of acres connected with the whole 218 was 21,846. Among the brick or stone almshouses then visited were those in Boston, Cambridge, Salem, Gloucester, Lowell, New Bedford, Worcester, Newburyport, Northampton and Plymouth. The oldest of these was at Newburyport; it was partly built and used for an almshouse before 1800. No others had been in use so long; but several were from 100 to 150 years old, as, for example, those at Burlington and Carlisle. These were then examples of a considerable class of the town almshouses; they were large wooden farm-houses, with huge chimneys and few windows, built in the style of such homesteads in 1740, and, of course, very far from answering our modern notions of comfort and convenience. It was very hard to warm them in winter, to ventilate them in summer, and to keep them clean at any season of the year. There was another class of wooden houses built at a later period, but scarcely more comfortable than the above named; such were those of Acton, Dracut, Tewksbury, Taunton and Cohasset. Originally good houses, they had not been kept in thorough repair, and, though there might be great neatness on the part of their keepers, it was difficult to keep them in proper condition for the inmates. A large number of the houses were

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built between 1820 and 1830, and many of these were excellently adapted for their purpose, although little had been done to modify their structure since. Good examples of this class were the almshouses at Duxbury and Yarmouth.

Of the more recently-built houses, or those which had lately been rebuilt, there were many as convenient and some even as elegant as could be desired for such uses. The substantial farmer would not need, or commonly have, a better house than these. But many of the wooden almshouses were then, and are still, much exposed to the danger of fire, and they burn down not unfrequently. The furniture is often good and sufficient, but also oftentimes old, rickety and almost worthless.

The almshouse farms, which in some years since 1864 have reported an aggregate acreage of nearly 23,000, equivalent to a township six miles square, do not vary much in size or quality from year to year. These are known in the neighborhood as "poor-farms," and usually this term is very appropriate. The land is sometimes good and well tilled, more frequently poor, and well tilled; but generally it is good and neglected, or poor and scarcely tilled at all. In some towns, and in cities especially, the farm may be highly valuable from its location, but of little worth as a farm. The largest farm is that of Ipswich, 350 acres; the smallest, those of Truro, half an acre, and of Provincetown, one-fourth of an acre. The average for all the towns is about a hundred acres, and the average number of inmates in each almshouse was, in 1875, about fourteen.

HOSPITALS FOR THE SICK.

The oldest public establishment in Massachusetts for charitable uses is that at Rainsford Island in Boston harbor, now used as one of the city almshouses of Boston. It was owned by the Province of Massachusetts nearly forty years before the Revolution, and was the property of the State until purchased by the city of Boston in 1871. It has been used at various times as a quarantine station, a small-pox hospital, a general hospital, a workhouse, and an almshouse; but it was

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originally conveyed to the Provincial government for use as a hospital. The island lies in the outer harbor of Boston, seven miles from Long Wharf, and was sold as long ago as 1736, by John Loring and others, to the treasurer and receiver-general of the Province, "to be held in trust for the use of the Governor, Council and Assembly of his majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, and their successors forever, to be used and improved for a hospital for the said Province." It was not provided by the deed of sale, as was once supposed, that the island should revert to the heirs in case it ever ceased to be "used and improved for a hospital." The sum paid for the island in 1736 was five hundred and seventy pounds, lawful money. The payment was made by William Foye, Esq., then treasurer of the Province, through the selectmen of Boston, who seem to have represented the Loring family in the transaction. This sum was probably the full value of the estate, which was, therefore, in no sense given to the Province. The deed of conveyance specifies, among other appurtenances, timber and trees, which may show that the island was then wooded.

It is stated in Drake's History of Boston that as early as 1738 "a good and convenient house" was built on Rainsford Island "at the charge of the Province." This may be the old building called the Mansion House, which was said, by the inspectors for 1858, in their annual report, to have been "erected more than a hundred years ago." In 1756 an Act was passed by the General Court, regulating "the hospital at Rainsford Island," and placing "its chief concerns" under the charge of the selectmen of Boston. We have little further record of the manner in which this hospital was used during the provincial period. After the Revolution, there were occasional acts of legislation respecting it, from 1782 down to 1816, at which latter date it was placed, by the General Court, under the control and charge of the Board of Health of the town of Boston, who were to report each year to the treasurer the condition of the property, and what moneys had been expended there. In 1836, or earlier, the control of the island was vested in the mayor and aldermen of Boston.

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Subsequent to 1830 the Commonwealth paid a considerable sum for the expenses of the island every year until 1838, and afterwards a smaller sum every few years; amounting in the twenty years succeeding 1830 to \$25,453.92.

In 1846, an Act was passed authorizing the Governor and Council to examine into the Commonwealth's title to the island, and, if they judged it expedient, to convey it to the city of Boston for the use of the city. This Act resulted in nothing; for Boston continued to occupy the island under the old tenure until 1852, when an Act was passed establishing a hospital for sick state paupers there. This Act provided for the building of three state almshouses, with farms and other facilities for employing the able-bodied poor who had no town settlement, and directed that all the unsettled poor should be removed to these almshouses on their completion, except such foreign paupers, arriving by water, as could not on account of sickness be so removed. These were to be left at the hospital on Rainsford Island, "during the continuance of such inability."

Under this Act, extensive repairs and additions were made at Rainsford Island, and the enlarged buildings there were opened as a hospital for the sick state poor who had come into the Commonwealth by water, on the 16th of May, 1854. At that time the cost of the island and its buildings (to the State) had been perhaps \$50,000; which had increased in 1864 to at least \$100,000; and, before the hospital was sold to the city of Boston, had amounted to nearly \$120,000. The price paid by the city was but \$40,000.

The first state patients sent to the pauper hospital at Rainsford Island were 128 in number, and were taken from the pauper hospital of the city of Boston at Deer Island, where they had been received and treated under the old statutes providing for the support of the state paupers in cities and towns. Since the closing of the Rainsford Hospital as a state establishment, near the end of 1866, the same classes of patients that had been sent thither for a dozen years were again treated in the pauper hospitals and almshouses of the cities and towns, or at their own dwellings,—or else, if able

THE RESULTS AT RAINSFORD.

to be removed to a state almshouse, at Tewksbury, Bridgewater or Monson. The whole number of patients at Rainsford, from 1854 to 1867, was about 7,000, besides whom about 400 vagrants, drunkards, etc., were received there under sentence, in conformity with a statute passed in 1855. Of these 7,400 persons, about 300 were infants born there; while so many of the inmates were more than once admitted, that the real aggregate of different persons was probably less than 7,000. Of these, 884 died at the hospital, or something more than 12 per cent. of all the patients. The average number of inmates during the twelve years and six months that the State maintained a pauper hospital or almshouse for the sick at Rainsford was about 150, and the total cost of current expenses during the period was above \$330,000, or more than \$26,000 a year,—something like \$3.50 per week for each patient of the average number actually under treatment. Since this hospital was closed, all the sick state poor of the Commonwealth outside of the state establishments (more than 1,500 a year, and a constant average of about 200) have been treated and relieved for less than \$25,000 a year.

Rainsford Island Hospital had belonged to the people of Massachusetts for more than a century and a quarter, when it was ceded by sale to the people of the capital city, Boston. For more than a century it had been, by enactments of the General Court, and by agreement with the Boston authorities, a quarantine station and a small hospital for infectious diseases occurring either among newly-arrived passengers and seamen or among the people of the neighboring towns on the mainland. It was not then strictly a pauper hospital, for many of its patients were supported from their own means. By law the "selectmen of the town of Boston," and afterwards the city government, were to furnish nurses and attendants. It was, in fact, an island pest-house, where those who were able paid the cost of their treatment, and those who were not thus able were paid for by the Province, by the towns or by the state. When the sickness and pauperism accompanying the sudden immigration which followed the Irish famine of 1846-7 forced the Commonwealth to adopt the state alms-

house system, Judge Warren and the other authors of that system found Rainsford ready to their hand, and, by a natural extension of the old usage, it became a mixture of almshouse and hospital for fever-stricken immigrants, and from that, gradually, a general pauper hospital; for which, in course of time, there was found to be no necessity, and so it was abolished. In the last few years of its existence as a state charity, it gave shelter to many invalid soldiers who had fought for Massachusetts in the civil war. These were either discharged, or found shelter in the Discharged Soldiers' Home of Boston, the National Asylum in Maine, or elsewhere.

THE MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL.

At its best, the Rainsford Hospital could never meet the need existing in Boston and its neighborhood for a general hospital. In the generation succeeding the Revolution, this need grew to be generally perceived.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Massachusetts had no hospital nor insane asylum, though such institutions had been for many years established in the States of New York and Pennsylvania. There were various indications, however, that the want of such establishments was felt in our community.* Thomas Boylston, Esq., by will dated November 12, 1798 (proved in 1800), made the town of Boston his residuary devisee in trust, among other objects to erect a small-pox hospital and a lunatic asylum. The testator before his death, unfortunately, became insolvent. Hon. William Phillips by a codicil dated April 18, 1797 (proved in 1804), bequeathed the sum of five thousand dollars to the town of Boston, for a hospital. In August, 1810, a circular letter was addressed by Drs. James Jackson and John C. Warren, to several of the wealthiest and most influential citizens of Boston, for the purpose of awakening in their minds an interest in the subject. This circular letter may be regarded as the first step towards founding the Massachusetts General Hospital. On the 25th of February, 1811, a charter

* Thomas Hancock gave a sum to the town of Boston between 1760 and 1770, for a similar use.

was obtained from the legislature, which incorporated James Bowdoin and fifty-five others of the most distinguished inhabitants of the various towns of the Commonwealth, by the name of the Massachusetts General Hospital, with power to hold real and personal estate of the yearly value of thirty thousand dollars. The governor, lieutenant-governor, president of the senate, speaker of the house, and the chaplains of both houses, were constituted a board of visitors, and the institution placed under the care of twelve trustees, of whom four were to be chosen by the board of visitors. A grant was made of all the "Province House Estate," with authority to sell it, and use the proceeds at pleasure; provided that within five years an additional sum of \$100,000 should be obtained by private gift. A further term of five years was allowed by an Act of June 14, 1813. The Charter imposed on the Corporation the obligation of supporting thirty of the sick and lunatic state poor. This provision was modified by the additional Act, so as to make the number of patients thus supported depend on the actual income derived from the Province House. The tendency of any such provision, however, was considered disadvantageous, as making the institution a merely pauper establishment, and it was virtually repealed in 1816. By a Resolve of that year, authority was finally granted for the sale of the Province House, on condition of paying the proceeds into the state treasury, unless, within one year from such sale, the additional sum of \$100,000 should be obtained. By a Resolve passed June 12, 1817, it was provided that the stone for the erection of the hospital should be hammered and fitted for use by the convicts in the state prison. The work thus done is estimated at over \$30,000. And by a Resolve of February 11, 1824, a bill due from the hospital for stonework at the state prison, for the use of the insane asylum (\$4,176.33), was remitted, as coming within the Resolve of 1817.

By an Act passed February 24, 1814, the hospital was authorized to grant annuities on lives. In a charter subsequently granted to the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, a proviso was inserted, by which one-third of its

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whole net profits from insurance on lives is made payable to the hospital. An additional Act, passed in 1824, sanctions a most important agreement between these two corporations, by which the hospital, in lieu of all former rights, became entitled to one-third of all the earnings of the insurance company over and above six per cent. Now this ancient company has had a capital of \$500,000 and upward, and the chief branch of its business is the management of property deposited with it in trust. The regular annual dividends for many years were nine per cent.,—say eight per cent. to stockholders, and one per cent., or from \$5,000 to \$10,000 a year, to the hospital; and *extra* dividends have also been received, making a total of more than \$350,000. In all the charters subsequently granted for insurance on lives, similar provisions in favor of the hospital have been introduced. Little has yet been or can be realized under these latter charters, as the percentage of the hospital is reckoned only on the *guarantee capital* of such companies, which is quite small. The granting of any such charter without such provision, would, however, exonerate the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company from all obligations in favor of the hospital; or in other words, would, as respects its sources of income, be a loss to the hospital of more than \$100,000. To prevent such a contingency, a bill was reported and passed by the legislature of 1851 to the effect that, "Whenever any persons or corporation shall be empowered to make insurance on lives upon land, the right so to do shall be deemed subject to the same obligations for the payment of a certain share of the profit accruing therefrom to the Massachusetts General Hospital, as are imposed on the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, by the laws now in force, unless express provision to the contrary shall be made." It thus appears that this hospital was endowed by the State, either directly from the property of the people, or indirectly by the labor of convicts and the payments from chartered corporations, to the amount of at least \$150,000. It may, therefore, properly be reckoned a state charity, though of late years it has been supported mainly from its own funds and from the gifts and bequests of private citizens.

THE FIRST HOSPITAL TRUSTEES.

The first meeting of the Hospital corporation was held on April 23, 1811,—ex-President John Adams being moderator,—at which Richard Sullivan was chosen secretary, and a committee appointed to prepare by-laws, which were adopted July 5, 1811. The first board of trustees, elected in 1813, consisted of Messrs. T. H. Perkins, Josiah Quincy, Daniel Sargent, Joseph May, Stephen Higginson, Jr., Gamaliel Bradford, Tristram Barnard, George G. Lee, Francis C. Lowell, Joseph Tilden, John L. Sullivan and Richard Sullivan. Messrs. Quincy, Higginson, Lowell and Tilden were chosen by the board of visitors; and, of the remaining eight, six were specially elected members of the corporation, namely, all except Thomas H. Perkins and Richard Sullivan, who were named in the Act of incorporation. No changes occurred in the board until the choice of Jonathan Phillips, in place of Mr. Higginson, in February, 1816, and the choice of John Lowell and Joseph Coolidge, Jr., in December, 1816, in place of F. C. Lowell and Joseph Tilden, the others having resigned. At the first meeting of the trustees, February 23, 1813, held at the house of Colonel Perkins, the draft of an address to the public was read, adopted and ordered to be printed, "with a suitable circular letter to every clergyman in the Commonwealth." At the same meeting, Messrs. Barnard and Higginson were appointed a committee to select a site for the hospital, either on the almshouse land in Leverett Street or elsewhere. This committee reported unfavorably as to that site, and suggested for consideration the Winthrop Estate in Cambridge, or the made land at bottom of Boston Common, since known as the Public Garden. Neither of these locations proving available, later in the year 1813 the expediency of establishing a temporary hospital in the Province House itself was discussed. In January, 1814, an address to the public (having been approved by the city overseers of the poor) was adopted, and committees were appointed to solicit subscriptions. This address was drawn up with great earnestness, and signed by the twelve trustees.*

* It was published with the following motto:—

"As, in some solitude, the summer rill
Refreshes, where it winds, the faded green,
And cheers the drooping flowers, unheard, unseen,
Such is this charity!"

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It points out the urgent need of such an institution for the relief both of the sick and the insane; that the almshouse is in its nature a mere asylum for poverty; that, indeed, "the Almshouse in this metropolis does not pretend to cure"; and that "*all it possesses are accommodations for eight patients.*" It then proceeds to show the safeguards in the management of the proposed institution,—that "its conductors are responsible to the executive of the Commonwealth and to the subscribers by an annual election"; that it is designed to be a state establishment, extending its benefits to all; and that, without the aid of all, the condition annexed to the grant of the Commonwealth cannot be complied with. The basis of the subscription is announced to be, that "no sum subscribed shall be demanded, unless, before Jan. 1, 1815, the sums subscribed shall amount to at least \$100,000." The trustees declare that a liberal endowment at the outset is essential to the reputation, and therefore to the usefulness, of the institution, and they conclude with the following paragraph:—

"Besides, the undersigned are willing to confess that they are not ambitious of being the guardians of a charity *merely nominal*. They are satisfied that the sum affixed by the legislature as the condition of its grant, is so small, when compared with the wealth of individuals and the greatness of the State, that no plea arising from 'the hardship of the times,' 'the general embarrassment of affairs,' or 'the claims of other charities,' can or ought to avail the community. If such a proposal as this fail, it will be, in the judgment of the undersigned, decisive of the fate of the establishment. It will then be apparent that *the will is wanting* in the public to patronize such an undertaking, and that the honor of laying the foundation of a fabric of charity so noble and majestic must be left for times when a higher cast of character predominates, and to a more enlightened and sympathetic race of men."

It was not found needful thus to wait for a better season. In May, 1814, a communication from Dr. George Parkman was received as to a hospital for the insane, proposed to be erected by him for the accommodation of such patients as shall be able to pay their own expenses. On March 25, 1815,

EARLY DAYS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HOSPITAL.

Messrs. Quiney and J. L. Sullivan were appointed a committee to draft a new address to the public. On April 15, 1816, authority was given to buy the Merry Estate, at twelve thousand dollars. It was situated at the corner of Salem and Charter streets, and formerly belonged to Sir William Phipps. It was not purchased by the Hospital, but was subsequently (in 1820) bought by the Boys' Asylum, now the Farm School. On Oct. 4, 1816, a communication from Dr. George Parkman was received, to the effect that the Magee Place and sixteen acres of land in Roxbury could be had for sixteen thousand dollars. "If the institution will pay five thousand dollars, he will procure to be given to this institution the remaining eleven thousand." This proposal was accepted, a committee appointed to complete the purchase, and Dr. Parkman was appointed superintending physician of said institution, "whenever the Magee Place shall be purchased, as provided in the preceding vote." At the foot of the page is the following memorandum: "The Board subsequently considered that it was inexpedient to purchase the Magee Place." Dr. Parkman, it appears, then had a private institution for the insane on this estate, which is the same since occupied by the widow of Gov. Eustis. Of the eleven thousand dollars promised by him, ten thousand was the amount agreed to be subscribed by friends of the institution, who at his solicitation were willing that their intended donations should be applied to this purchase. It was not, as the Board apparently supposed, a new donation of Dr. Parkman's.

Toward the end of 1816, Messrs. Lowell, Quiney and Barnard were appointed a committee to contract for the purchase of the Barrell Place (or Joy Estate) at Charlestown, to be paid for as soon as the state of the funds should admit of it. A renewed attempt was also made to get the land west of the Almshouse for a hospital. On December 18, the Board decided to purchase a part of Mr. Joy's land. A new address to the public, issued in 1816, argued that private charity cannot meet the evils which this public institution is designed to remedy, called for more subscriptions, and announced the purchase of the Joy Estate as completed. Of this it remarks:

"The situation selected appears to unite every practicable advantage; we should almost say, the irreconcilable ones of propinquity and distance, being scarcely separated from the town by water, while its peninsular situation places it at the most desirable distance." It also adds, that the trustees have "procured a grant of land west of the Almshouse [on Leverett Street], upon which they have voted to erect the General Hospital, as soon as the moneys, which they flatter themselves will be readily subscribed, shall have been collected." On Dec. 29, 1816, the committee reported *that in three days the subscriptions were \$78,802.* Committees for the towns of Salem, Beverly, New Bedford, Plymouth, Charlestown, Medford, Cambridge, Roxbury and Newburyport were also appointed. Charles Bulfinch, Esq., was employed to visit the hospitals of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. On Jan. 5, 1817, the subscriptions had increased to \$93,969. Authority was given to purchase more of Mr. Joy's land, not exceeding in all fifteen acres, at a cost not exceeding fifteen thousand dollars, and soon after a purchase was made for \$15,650.

During the year 1817, the land on Allen Street, near the Charles River, but on the other side from the Joy Estate, was purchased for the site of the General Hospital; the other being reserved for the Insane Asylum. The chief candidates for superintendent of this Asylum were Dr. George Parkman (afterwards so tragically murdered near the Hospital) and Dr. Rufus Wyman, father of the late Prof. Jeffries Wyman. Dr. Wyman was chosen, and continued in charge of the asylum for nearly eighteen years, or until May, 1835. In April, 1817, Drs. Samuel Danforth, Isaac Rand, John Jeffries, Lemuel Hayward, David Townsend, Thomas Welsh, Aaron Dexter and William Spooner were chosen consulting physicians; Dr. James Jackson acting physician, and Dr. John C. Warren acting surgeon. Dr. Jackson, in the office of consulting physician, continued to serve the hospital till his death in 1867. Dr. Warren, after thirty-four years' service, resigned in 1852, shortly before his death. In April, 1817, Hon. William Phillips announced his readiness to pay his subscription of twenty thousand dollars as soon as the town of Boston

would discharge him as executor of his father's will, from the five thousand dollars given thereby. On May 4, the committee for building an asylum reported in favor of two wings or buildings, seventy-six feet by forty, three stories high instead of one, and of brick instead of stone. Authority was given to buy the Allen Street estate at twenty thousand dollars, if the offer should be accepted. In November, 1817, a common seal was ordered to be prepared; the device being an Indian with his bow in one hand and an arrow in the other, and on his right a star encircled with the inscription, "MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL, 1811." In December it was ordered that the hospital be "of stone, and of *that kind called granite.*"

At the beginning of 1818, it appears that subscriptions were secured to the amount required by the condition of the charter, and the estates were purchased where the two departments of the hospital are now situated. The subscriptions had been extremely generous. William Phillips had increased his father's legacy of \$5,000 to \$20,000, and the importance of this donation was very great. It encouraged the friends of the project, and awakened a corresponding liberality in others; it was, indeed, the one circumstance which insured the success of the undertaking. The Humane Society gave \$5,000; Messrs. James Perkins, Thomas H. Perkins and David Sears each gave the same sum. There were in all 1,047 subscribers, residing in Boston, Salem, Plymouth, Charlestown, Hingham and Chelsea (including a few residents elsewhere); and 245 of this number, by giving one hundred dollars and upwards, became members of the corporation. Several subscribed exclusively for the Hospital, several exclusively for the Asylum, and some for both; and the amount actually expended on each separate branch of the institution subsequently exceeded the sum thus specially appropriated; so that the wishes of each donor have been complied with. A donation-book, prepared in 1828 by Colonel Joseph May, includes these subscriptions and some subsequent ones, making in all the truly magnificent total of more than a hundred and forty thousand dollars, which, considering the population

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and wealth of Massachusetts then, was equivalent to no less than \$1,000,000 now.

Upon laying the corner-stone of the Hospital, July 4, 1818 Josiah Quincy said among other things :—

"Indeed, the foundations of a noble charity have this day been laid,—a charity destined to confer lasting blessings on future times, as it has already conferred immortal honor on the present,—a charity of which it well becomes a citizen of Massachusetts to speak in the language of pride and exultation. For of what can the patriot be more justly proud than of witnessing in a community virtuous principles, emanating in generous efforts, and generous efforts crowned with resplendent success? When can exultation be more natural or suitable than on beholding the seed, which the common labor of the community has scattered, upspringing from the soil, bearing on its trunk and on its branches the pregnant promise of fruit and shade? It has been the happiness of the trustees to witness among their fellow-citizens a zeal coöperating with their design and patronizing its establishment, as laudable as it has been exemplary, and not less encouraging than it has been honorable. They have seen individuals, distinguished at once for wealth and liberality, surpassing all former records of benevolence in this country, and subscribing to their funds sums which in point of amount have seldom been equalled by individual subscription in any country, on any occasion. They have seen all classes of their citizens combining and concentrating their efforts, and the irresistible force of public opinion applied, not, as has happened in other countries, to destroy, but to found and erect institutions destined to be the refuge of the afflicted, and to provide relief and extend protection to those who labor under the most awful and humiliating misfortunes to which man is subject. . . .

"But it ought not to be concealed on the present occasion that, notwithstanding the donations on which this charity has been founded are great, yet that the necessities of the unfortunate and of this institution are still greater. The funds already placed at the disposal of the trustees will scarcely more than suffice to enable them to complete the Asylum for the Insane, and also two principal parts of the building destined for the General Hospital; leaving it to the sympathy of the legislature and of the community to provide for the completion of the remaining third part of the building, and for the annual support of the establishment.

"Encouraged by the liberality and favor already displayed by

GROWTH OF THE HOSPITAL.

their fellow-citizens and by the Legislature of the Commonwealth, and anxious on their part to fulfil the duties imposed on them in the spirit which the munificence of the public seemed to justify and to demand, the trustees have deemed themselves compelled to commence their institution upon a scale and on a system coinciding less with the immediate state of the funds than with the anticipated exigencies of society; assured that the liberality of the State and of individuals will not fail to complete an undertaking commenced under such honorable and happy auspices; relying that every want which shall occur will be supplied, as well from the interesting and commanding nature of all the charities concentrated in their institution, as from the just and deep sympathies for its success which prevail in the community."

The anticipations of Mr. Quincy have been fully realized in the subsequent history of the Massachusetts General Hospital, which has been supported for nearly threescore years with a munificence corresponding to that with which it was endowed. Its property, real and personal, now exceeds \$2,700,000, of which more than \$2,000,000 is in real estate, and the rest in personal property. Of this sum, more than \$2,600,000 was the gift, either by subscription, donation or bequest, of about 2,000 persons during sixty years, while the rest was given by the Commonwealth. These gifts have been, therefore, at the average rate of about \$45,000 a year for the whole period, though they now average more than \$100,000 a year. The largest bequest, from a Boston mechanic, amounted before payment to \$470,000. The Hospital buildings on Allen Street have been greatly enlarged and improved, and are to be still further modified during the present year. They can now receive with comfort 200 patients at one time, and they do receive in course of the year nearly or quite 2,000 patients. The number of out-patients treated in a year is now more than 15,000. Since it was opened, on September 3, 1821, nearly 45,000 patients in all have been received at the Allen Street Hospital, and of these, less than 4,000 have died there. The two great objects had in view here have been, as proposed by Drs. Jackson and Warren in 1810, to succor the poor in sickness, and to provide facilities whereby students can acquire medical

knowledge; and both objects have been attained. Within the past three years another effort has been made; namely, to train women as nurses in a school for that purpose connected with the hospital. More than twenty such pupils are now under efficient training as hospital nurses, at the expense of a corporation called "The Boston Training School for Nurses," of which Mr. Martin Brimmer is the president, and Miss Mary A. Wales the secretary. It is now proposed to make all the nurses in the hospital either pupils or graduates of this school, and such a course will doubtless be taken during the present year.

The Insane Asylum at Somerville, generally known as the McLean Asylum, was the first of the two departments to open, as it did in October, 1818. Since then it has received nominally more than 6,000 patients,—really perhaps 4,800 different persons, of whom about 850 have died, and something less than half have recovered. A new site for this Asylum was purchased not long since at Waverley, on the Fitchburg Railroad, between Belmont and Waltham. The yearly income of the Hospital now exceeds a quarter of a million dollars, and its yearly expenses are also more than that sum. The annual number of patients treated in the hospital proper and in the insane asylum exceeds 2,000, the average number being something more than 300 in both departments. The yearly cost is something more than \$250,000, at present, in both.

HOSPITALS FOR THE INSANE.

For nearly fifteen years after the opening of the McLean Asylum, in 1818, it was the only public establishment for the insane in Massachusetts, which then had a population rising from 500,000 in 1818 to nearly 650,000 in 1833. Of these inhabitants, it is probable that more than 1,000 were constantly insane; yet the whole number of patients in a year at Somerville was less than 150 at that time. In 1833, a new state hospital was opened at Worcester,—the first among four of that class which now exist.

The question of providing special accommodations at the cost of the Commonwealth for the insane of Massachusetts

seems to have been first agitated in the legislature (February, 1829) by the Hon. Horace Mann, then of Dedham; and the result of the discussion that followed was the appointment of a committee, of which Mr. Mann was chairman, to make investigations as to "the practicability and expediency of erecting or procuring, at the expense of the Commonwealth, an asylum for the safe keeping of lunatics and persons furiously mad." The Order under which this committee was appointed, likewise required the selectmen of the several towns to make returns to the secretary of the Commonwealth as to the number, age, sex, color and condition of the reputed insane belonging to their respective towns. In January, 1830, these returns were communicated to the legislature, and referred to a special committee, of which also Mr. Mann was chairman. This committee finally reported, February 13, 1830, in favor of a state hospital, giving the reasons therefor.

The report embraced returns from 114 towns, comprising somewhat less than half the population of the State. In 25 towns, no lunatics were found; in the remaining 89 towns, there were reported 289 lunatics, of which number 161 were held in confinement; namely, 78 in poor-houses and houses of industry, 37 in private houses, 10 in insane hospitals, 19 in jails or houses of correction, and 17 in places not mentioned. These did not include about 60 in the McLean Asylum at Charlestown. Presuming that the towns from which returns were received represented an average condition in respect to insanity, the full number of the insane then demanding the care of the State cannot have been less than 578, exclusive of those in the McLean Asylum. Of these, about 325, or nearly three-fifths, were in such a state as to require confinement. The remaining two-fifths were not considered "dangerous" or "furiously mad," and so required no personal restraint. For them the State seems not to have contemplated any establishment at that time, but to have left them to the care of their natural protectors. Up to this period, the furiously insane had not in general been treated with a view to their recovery or improvement; but

they were kept in secure places, and held in restraint, less for their own good, than for the security of the community. The greater number had been confined less than four years, one as many as forty-five years, and many for periods intermediate. The laws of the State had for more than thirty years authorized the confinement in jails and prisons of such lunatics as should, in the opinion of two magistrates, be judged "dangerous to the peace or safety of the good people." Such confinement as the laws authorized shut out nearly every chance for improvement. There were no suitable accommodations for the insane in the several towns. They were subjected to as rigorous confinement as criminals, with poorer provision, in many cases, for warmth, food and clothing, and without an equal chance for release. Confinement in prisons tended, doubtless, to render permanent a malady which might otherwise have been but temporary. The success of several incorporated hospitals for the insane in this and other States had already demonstrated the utility of such establishments, and the investigations of the committee now demonstrated their necessity.

The McLean Asylum, besides being the only one in the State, was but partially under state control, and of quite limited capacity; obviously inadequate to receive all the insane who were proper subjects for hospital treatment. The establishment of a new hospital was readily voted by the legislature, and received the approval of the governor March 10, 1830. By a Resolve, the governor was empowered to purchase an eligible site for the hospital, and to appoint three commissioners to erect a building suitable for 120 lunatics, and the sum of \$30,000 was appropriated to meet expenses. After due examination, Worcester was selected by Gov. Lincoln for the location of the hospital, and that town purchased, at the cost of \$2,500, twelve acres of elevated ground, and presented it to the State as a site for the new hospital. The governor appointed as building commissioners, Messrs. Horace Mann, Bezalcel Taft, Jr., and William B. Calhoun. In January, 1832, the commissioners reported the completion of the building, and a further appropriation of

\$20,000 was made in March following for furnishing it. The buildings first erected were a centre and two wings, the whole having a frontage of 156 feet; the centre for the occupation of the resident officers of the hospital, the wings for patients' dormitories. In 1835 appropriations were made by which return wings were built at the extremities of the original wings. In 1837 a chapel was added, and in 1838 infirmaries; in 1842 a barn and shop, and additional wings in 1843; in 1847 and 1849 apartments were added for the furiously insane, and in 1859 further improvements were made.

Up to 1870, when a new site was purchased for the building of a new hospital, a mile or two distant from the old one, the cost of the latter for construction, land and permanent improvements had been less than \$350,000, of which the State had paid directly less than \$200,000. Its capacity in 1870 was for less than 400 patients, though it had sometimes contained a yearly average of from 450 to 520. During and since 1870, more than \$800,000 have been expended for the land and buildings of the new hospital, which is still incomplete, and will require at least \$300,000 more to fit it for the use of 400 patients. The 12 acres originally bought for the hospital have grown to 375 acres, of which more than 270 acres are in the new hospital farm. No portion of the new hospital is yet occupied by patients; but a few are living in cottages on the new farm, and the whole number there and in the old hospital is not far from 500 at present.

The Worcester Hospital has had but four superintendents in course of the 44 years since Dr. Woodward, the first superintendent, was appointed (September 26, 1832). He remained at the head of the State Hospital until July 1, 1846, when he was succeeded by Dr. George Chandler, who, in turn, was succeeded by Dr. Merrick Bemis in 1856. Dr. Bemis resigned in 1872 (July 25), and was succeeded by Dr. Barnard D. Eastman, the present superintendent.

None of the insane hospitals of Massachusetts has received so many patients as that at Worcester, and none except that at Taunton now contains so many. At Worcester the number admitted, up to 1876, has been about 8,700, 508 of whom

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remained on the first of January, 1876. For the current expenses of this hospital since 1832, there has been paid from the state treasury something more than \$600,000, while the cities and towns of Massachusetts have paid upwards of \$1,000,000 for the support of patients there, and private individuals have paid at least \$600,000 more. The present yearly expenses of the hospital are about \$106,000, and for the past five years they have averaged more than \$100,000. Of this expense, something more than one-third is for salaries and wages, and something less than one-third for provisions and supplies.

In an old hospital like that at Worcester, many patients are admitted again and again. At the Worcester Hospital, in the forty-two years ending October 1, 1875, the nominal admissions of insane patients have been 11,001; namely, 5,574 males and 5,427 females; but the whole number of different persons admitted does not exceed 8,606; namely, 4,382 males and 4,224 females. This shows that something more than one-fifth of the admissions were actually readmissions of the same patients. These readmissions have been slightly more common among the women than among the men, and among those readmitted, in both sexes, were many who had been set down as recovered when first discharged. It would seem that more than one-ninth of all the female patients admitted are discharged "recovered" only to reappear in the same hospital with the same mental disease, and that one-ninth of the male patients do the same.

ADMISSIONS AT OTHER HOSPITALS.

If we apply the same ratio (as probably we may without error) to the number of nominal admissions at the oldest Massachusetts lunatic hospital, the McLean Asylum in Somerville, we shall find the following results: Of the 6,000 nominal admissions at Somerville, between October 6, 1818, and October 1, 1875,—in fifty-seven years,—about 1,320 were duplicates, leaving 4,680 different persons. Of these, 850, or 18 per cent., died at the hospital.

Out of 6,219 nominal admissions at the Taunton State Hos-

ADMISSIONS AND RECOVERIES OF THE INSANE.

pital, from May, 1854, to October, 1875, the whole number of different patients was about 5,200, of whom 957, or more than 18 per cent., died at this hospital. Out of 2,824 nominal admissions at the Northampton State Hospital, from August, 1858, to October, 1875, the number of different patients was but 2,414, of whom 539, or 22½ per cent., died at the hospital. In the three state hospitals at Worcester, Taunton and Northampton, the whole number of different patients since 1833 has probably been about 14,000, of whom 2,915, or more than 20 per cent., died at these three hospitals. At all the public hospitals and asylums for the insane in Massachusetts during the past fifty-eight years, it is probable that something more than 20,000 different patients—possibly 21,000—may have been under treatment, of whom, no doubt, more than 5,000, or above 23 per cent., have died in these public establishments.

The recoveries have been more frequent than the deaths, but the permanent recoveries have not been so numerous as is sometimes believed, and perhaps have not exceeded 37 per cent. of the admissions, or 40 per cent. of the discharges. Thus, at the Worcester Hospital, it is ascertained that of 2,700 recoveries among the male patients, 500 were recoveries of persons who had already recovered once or more, leaving only 2,200 permanent recoveries, so far as the hospital records show; while it is doubtful if more than 1,500 of these actually remained recovered. At the Northampton Hospital, among 2,411 patients, there were 641 recoveries, but 118 of these were duplicate recoveries of the same patients, and only about 400 remained permanently recovered, so far as the hospital records show,—one-sixth, or 17 per cent., of the whole number admitted, and but little more than 20 per cent. of all those discharged.

The much lower percentage of recoveries at Northampton, when compared with Worcester, is owing mainly to the fact that of the 2,411 patients there received, more than 1,000 came directly from other hospitals and asylums (generally incurable), while nearly 300 more had also been patients in other hospitals. The recoveries among the 1,100 patients (in round numbers) who were sent to Northampton for the first

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time, were about 400, or 36 per cent. of all admissions, and 42 per cent. of all discharges,—nearly as great a percentage as at Worcester. At Taunton the recoveries seem to have been more than 25 per cent. of all the patients admitted, and at least 30 per cent. of the discharges; but at this hospital, also, we find a great many direct admissions from other hospitals, and other admissions of those who had been in other hospitals; so that it is quite probable the recoveries there would show as high a percentage, if calculated only for those patients *first* treated at Taunton, as we could find at Northampton or Worcester.*

THE TAUNTON HOSPITAL.

About twenty years after the establishment of the hospital at Worcester, an Act of the legislature was passed (in May, 1851,) authorizing the building of a second State Hospital

* The statistics of admissions and recoveries, classified as to sex, former residence, in that hospital, or any hospital, number of recoveries of the same person, etc., have been carefully computed by Dr. Earle, of the Northampton Hospital, for the seven years since establishment has been open. The statistics of the Worcester Hospital have been less accurately made up, but with some approximation to correctness for the forty-two years of its existence. The Taunton Hospital statistics can only be estimated, for want of time to examine them thoroughly. Some of these facts and estimates for the three state hospitals are given below. It may be stated that each hospital contains several patients who have there recovered many times,—at Worcester a man who recovered *fifteen* times, for instance.

HOSPITAL STATISTICS. 1833-1875.

	WORCESTER.			TAUNTON.			NORTHAMPTON.			Aggregate.
	Ma.	Fem.	Total.	Ma.	Fem.	Total.	Ma.	Fem.	Total.	
Nominal admissions to Oct. 1, 1875.	5,574	5,427	11,001	3,219	3,000	6,219	-	-	2,824	20,044
Persons admitted to Oct. 1, 1875.	4,382	4,224	8,606	2,683	2,517	5,200	1,186	1,225	2,411	16,217 ¹
Nominal recoveries to Oct. 1, 1875.	2,683	2,578	5,261	1,033	969	2,002	343	298	641	7,904
Persons recovered to Oct. 1, 1875.	2,191	1,977	4,168	850	800	1,650	284	230	523	6,341
Number of cases reappearing to Oct. 1, 1875.	728	767	1,495	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
(a) Number recovered, but reappearing.	530	400	930	-	-	-	70	60	130	-
(b) Total recoveries in class (a).	1,061	1,061	2,082	-	-	-	125	115	240	-
(c) Persons recovered, and not reappearing.	1,661	1,517	3,178	-	-	-	202	174	376	-

¹ Excluding duplicates, less than 14,000.

THE TAUNTON HOSPITAL.

for the Insane. The commissioners appointed to build this hospital were George N. Briggs, James D. Thompson and John W. Graves. Their first report is dated January 5, 1853. The sum placed at their disposal was \$100,000; but this was afterwards increased by various grants to \$154,000, while the citizens of Taunton, where the new hospital was located, gave \$13,000 for the purchase of the land. Further appropriations were made in 1853; namely, for furnishing and improving the buildings and grounds, \$12,000; for furnishing and providing the hospital for occupancy, \$20,000; and for paying its expenses until it should begin to receive revenues, \$10,000; so that before the first patients were received, on the 7th of April, 1854, there had been expended on the hospital upwards of \$200,000. Since then, so many additions and improvements have been made, that the present cost of the whole institution to the State has been a little more than \$400,000, without taking into account the yearly expenses for the support and treatment of the patients. The number for which it was originally designed, was but 250; but for many years it has contained more than 350, and since its enlargement in 1874 it has been capable of receiving 500 patients conveniently, and now contains about 650. It is therefore, at present, the largest lunatic hospital in Massachusetts or New England, and one of the largest in the United States. Its annual expenses are now about \$110,000, of which less than one-fourth is for salaries and wages, and more than two-fifths for provisions and supplies. Its farm contains but 134 acres. During the twenty-two years that it has existed, the Taunton Hospital has cost the State for current expenses about \$575,000, while cities and towns have paid about as much more, and private individuals perhaps \$200,000 more. It has received in that time about 5,200 different persons as patients, the nominal admissions having been, as already stated, more than 6,200. At present it is receiving patients faster than ever before, and has contained at some times during January, 1876, more than 660 patients. It has had only two superintendents during the twenty-three years of its existence. Dr. George C. S. Choate

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was appointed in October, 1853, and resigned in 1872; his successor was the present superintendent, Dr. William W. Godding, under whose direction the recent enlargement and improvement of the buildings has been made. Like the other State Hospitals, it is managed by a board of trustees, who are a corporation with power to hold property, to buy and sell, to admit and discharge patients, etc. The number of these trustees at each State Hospital is five, and each board contains one or more physicians. Each member holds office for five years, and a member is appointed each year by the governor of the State.

THE NORTHAMPTON HOSPITAL.

Before the second State Hospital, at Taunton, was built, and, indeed, soon after the opening of the Worcester Hospital, it was found that the increasing number of the insane in Massachusetts required that further provision should be made specially for this class. Accordingly, in the year 1836, the General Court passed an Act requiring each county in the State to maintain "within the precincts of the House of Correction" (the county prison for convicts) "a suitable and convenient apartment or receptacle for idiots and lunatics, or insane persons not furiously mad." Under this law only three of the counties, Suffolk, Essex and Middlesex, provided such receptacles, two of which are still maintained. The Suffolk County receptacle soon became the Boston Lunatic Hospital (in 1839), and under this name it now receives patients in the old hospital at South Boston, near the House of Correction. It has been for many years almost exclusively a pauper hospital. During the thirty-seven years that it has been established, it has received nominally about 2,400 patients, in reality perhaps 2,000 different patients,* and now contains about 200 patients. Its expenses are borne by the city of Boston, and amount to about \$60,000 a year, a portion of which is paid by other cities and towns which support patients there, and by the friends of a few private patients. Its first superintendent was Dr. John S. Butler, afterwards at the

* Of these, more than 730 have died at this hospital.

THE SUFFOLK AND ESSEX RECEPTACLES.

head of the Hartford Retreat in Connecticut; and while he was in charge at the South Boston Hospital, it was visited, in 1842, by Charles Dickens, who, in his "American Notes," gives a lively picture of its management at that time. Its present superintendent is Dr. Clement A. Walker, who has been in charge at South Boston for many years.

The Essex County receptacle was established in a portion of the House of Correction there, and is the only one of the three now maintained as a county asylum, that of Middlesex at Cambridge having been long since abandoned. The Ipswich receptacle has never been large, and has seldom contained many curable patients. In 1854, when visited by Dr. Edward Jarvis, he found there 68 patients of all kinds; in 1864 it contained but 32; but during the past ten years the average number has been about 55. The present number is 62. The superintendent is the keeper of the House of Correction, but has been for nearly ten years a medical man, Dr. Yorick G. Hurd. The annual cost of maintaining the insane inmates of the Ipswich receptacle is probably about \$7,500 a year, and is paid by the towns and cities in Essex County which support insane paupers there.

Although the three establishments under the Act of 1836 contained in 1855 about 350 insane inmates, and the new hospital at Taunton more than 250, it was found by the careful researches of the special Lunacy Commission of 1854-5 that another hospital was needed to receive insane persons then confined in prisons, almshouses and other unsuitable places, and for the treatment of recent cases of insanity in the western counties of the State. Accordingly, under Acts and Resolves of the general court passed in 1853, 1857 and 1858, such a hospital was built at Northampton, at a cost of about \$320,000, and with a capacity for about 300 patients. It was opened on the 16th of August, 1858, with Dr. William H. Prince for its first superintendent. He was succeeded in July, 1864, by Dr. Pliny Earle, the present superintendent. During the whole period of its existence,—about seventeen years and a half,—the Northampton Hospital has admitted, nominally, something less than 2,900 patients, of whom,

however, more than 1,000 were directly transferred from the hospitals at Worcester, South Boston and Taunton, or from the Asylum for Harmless Insane, in connection with the State Almshouse at Tewksbury. The actual number of different patients admitted has been but 2,414, of whom 470 remained on the first of January, 1876. The whole cost of construction of the Northampton Hospital, up to this time, has been about \$400,000; its current expenses are now nearly \$90,000 a year, of which a little more than one-fourth is paid for salaries and wages, and about one-third for provisions and supplies. The whole cost in current expenses to the State since 1858, of the Northampton Hospital, has been about \$700,000; while towns and cities have paid about \$200,000, and individuals, for the support of private patients, about \$400,000. A greater proportion of the patients at Northampton have been incurable than at any of the other hospitals in the State, and the ratio of recoveries to all admitted has been but little more than twenty per cent. The death-rate, also, has been smaller than anywhere else, when computed on the number resident in each year; but as there are fewer changes in the population at Northampton than elsewhere, the death-rate in proportion to the whole number of different patients admitted has been larger than even at Worcester. Wherever the inmates of a lunatic hospital are permanent from year to year, the death-rate at the end of fifteen or twenty years is unavoidably large.

THE TEWKSBURY ASYLUM.

From the first opening of the State Almshouses, in May, 1854, more or less of the pauper insane supported by the State found their way into these establishments, and particularly into the two larger almshouses, at Tewksbury and at Bridgewater. In October, 1854, when Dr. Jarvis examined the then new almshouses in behalf of the Lunacy Commission, of which he was a member, he found only 19 lunatics and idiots at Tewksbury, 15 at Bridgewater, and 6 at Monson; but before June 1, 1855, these numbers had increased to 27 at Tewksbury, 47 at Monson, and 99 at Bridgewater,—173 in all. On the first of December, 1863, when the Board of

THE TEWKSBURY INSANE ASYLUM.

State Charities, then newly appointed, took the census, there were 100 at Tewksbury, 115 at Bridgewater, and perhaps half a dozen at Monson,—in all, about 220. In October, 1864, they had increased to 250 at Tewksbury and Bridgewater. In May, 1864, an Act of the Legislature was passed for the building of a "receptacle for insane criminals," in connection with the State Almshouse at Tewksbury. But this law was never complied with by the authorities there, and in 1865 the plan was changed, with the consent of the Legislature and the approval of the Board of State Charities, and an Asylum for the Harmless Insane was built at Tewksbury for 100 inmates, which was opened in October, 1866, and was enlarged in 1871-2, so as to contain from 250 to 300 inmates. The buildings were substantially, but too economically, erected and arranged for use, and the ventilation has never been satisfactory. The expediency of establishing such an asylum at all was doubted by many persons, but Dr. Choute, of the Taunton Hospital, was heartily in favor of trying the experiment, and so declared in several of his annual reports. In that for 1866, this experienced and judicious physician, who had then been for thirteen years at the head of the Taunton Hospital, thus declared his views:—

"I still entertain the opinion expressed in the last annual report, that such an institution, if rightly inaugurated and judiciously carried on, will be a benefit to the State in an economical point of view, *will raise the character of the state hospitals, and will subserve the interests of the insane generally.* Theoretically, there can be no question that the state lunatic hospitals, as at present organized, afford the best facilities for the care of all classes of the insane; but as the accommodations which they offer are limited to less than half of the whole number of the insane in the State, and the choice for the remainder is between such an institution and the ordinary almshouse provision,—at least for such as are supported at the public charge,—the selection would seem to be clear and easy. *The new institution is not to be considered as in any sense a substitute for a lunatic hospital, but as simply an addition or appendage, and as being an improvement in the care and provision for that class whom it will receive.* It is to be hoped that the rule will be rigidly enforced, that none shall be admitted into it who have not first

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passed through one of the hospitals, and have been pronounced as in all human probability beyond the aid of medical skill. *In one point of view, I am satisfied that the new institution, from its connection with and vicinity to a large almshouse, may have an advantage over the hospitals in the care of the demented insane. In bringing to bear upon them the great remedial power of labor, there will be an opportunity of associating a few insane with many sane laborers, which is the reverse of what necessarily occurs here; and the influence and example of the latter will in some cases be effectual in inducing the performance of daily labor by the former, and consequently in procuring that improvement which is almost sure to follow a regular and habitual exercise of the physical powers.*"

When the Tewksbury Asylum was formally opened, October 1, 1866, the superintendent, physician and inspectors of the State Almshouse, under whose care it was placed, undertook to see that it should be "judiciously carried on," as Dr. Choate had advised. By directions received from the Board of State Charities, in accordance with the by-laws of the Almshouse, the superintendent was requested to make written requisitions on the physician in charge for such labor as the inmates might safely render; and the physician was directed to detail the parties, or furnish a written reason for non-compliance. He was instructed to keep a "detail-book," in which should be entered the names of all members of the Asylum detailed, whether for labor, or from sickness, or for residence in the almshouse, specifying the purpose in the case of each. He was further instructed to keep a "record of deaths" and a "discharge-book," which should set forth particularly the manner and cause of the removal of any inmate. From the data contained in these books, he was expected to ascertain the number of his charges, whether resident or non-resident, with the amount of labor performed by each, and answer accurately all proper questions respecting them. One of the inspectors was to visit the asylum each week, and make a record of his visit and observations; and he was to be furnished with a list of the insane patients, so that he might ascertain the presence and general condition of each one. The supervisors were required to see that all the rooms in the asylum were kept clean, well warmed and ventilated;

THE TEWKSBURY INSANE ASYLUM.

that all the inmates were bathed once each week, unless excused by the physician, and oftener, if required; and that a sufficient quantity of food should be furnished to each person. The diet for the Asylum patients was to be regulated by the physician, and their health carefully watched over. The by-laws further say:—

"The insane shall be treated in a kind and gentle manner, but must be subject to strict and wholesome discipline. Sympathy and kindness shall be the rule; force and restraint the exception."

Had these regulations always been strictly enforced by persons competent to manage the insane, the results at the Tewksbury Asylum would have fully justified the expectations of those who established it. Such has not been the case in all respects, but it is hoped that better success will attend its future management. The whole number of nominal admissions since it was opened has been 1,430, up to January 1, 1876; the number of actual inmates, about 1,360, of whom 506 have died; and 260 remained, January 1, 1876. It is probable that nearly 1,100 of these inmates have also been patients at one or more of the state hospitals, and more than 1,200 have been patients at some hospital in Massachusetts or elsewhere. They were, therefore, almost without exception, chronic patients when admitted at Tewksbury.

The cost of the buildings and yards for the insane at Tewksbury has been something more than \$70,000; the annual cost in current expenses (paid wholly by the State) is now about \$35,000, and for the nine years that the Asylum has existed, the aggregate of current expenses paid by the State has probably been \$275,000. This is but an estimate, however, for its accounts are not separated from those of the great almshouse of which it is a part.

THE DANVERS HOSPITAL.

Several attempts having been made, between 1853 and 1873, to rebuild the city lunatic hospital of Boston upon a larger scale, and with increased facilities for receiving insane patients; but all such efforts having failed of success, the city

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authorities, in 1873, made application to the legislature for the building of a new State Hospital for the special use of the three large counties of Suffolk, Essex and Middlesex. The requisite legislation was obtained, and an appropriation of \$650,000 was made to build such a hospital for four hundred patients, most of whom, it was supposed, would be paupers of the State, or of the towns and cities. Messrs. Samuel C. Cobb, of Boston, Edwin Walden of Lynn, and Christopher C. Esty, of Framingham, were appointed commissioners to procure a site, with a farm, and to erect the necessary buildings. They selected a large farm in the town of Danvers, and have now nearly completed the Danvers Hospital, but at a cost much greater than the original estimate. In 1875 the appropriation of \$650,000 was increased to \$900,000, and more than \$300,000 in addition is now asked for by the Commissioners to complete and furnish the new hospital, which, if finished according to the latest estimates, will cost more than \$1,200,000, or as much as the State has paid for the construction of the three State Hospitals at Worcester, Taunton and Northampton. It is expected to be ready for the reception of patients in 1877, at which time also the new Worcester Hospital, which is to cost almost as much as that at Danvers, will perhaps be completed.

PRESENT PROVISION FOR THE INSANE IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The present number of insane persons in Massachusetts is stated by the State census bureau of 1875 as less than 3,600. But this number is probably too small, since nearly or quite as many came under the official notice of the Board of State Charities in 1875, while there must have been five or six hundred in the State with whom the Board had nothing to do. On the first of October, 1875, there were about 2,725 known to be living in hospitals, asylums, almshouses and other places under the care of public authorities, and on the first of January, 1876, this number had increased to more than 2,800. On October 1, there were 1,556 patients in three State hospitals,—namely, 478 at Worcester, 602 at Taunton, and 476 at Northampton; 441 in city, county or private hospitals,—

THE MASSACHUSETTS INSANE IN 1876.

namely, 202 at the South Boston Hospital, 62 at the Ipswich receptacle, 159 at the McLean Asylum, and 18 in two private asylums. There were also 286 at the Tewksbury Asylum, 52 in prisons, etc., and 390 in the town almshouses, or under private care as paupers. Of this whole number, about 775 were supported by the State, 1,435 by cities and towns, and 512 by individuals. In establishments of the same class that contained but 1,348 insane persons in 1854, there were nearly 1,000 more than this in 1875; while the cost of maintaining the insane of Massachusetts is now more than double what it was in 1854. This cost cannot be accurately stated, but it no doubt exceeds \$650,000; of which the State pays at least \$125,000, the cities and towns not less than \$250,000, and private citizens at least \$300,000. Something more than \$160,000 of this is expended at a single hospital—the McLean Asylum in Somerville. Probably no other State in the Union expends so much for its insane, in proportion to the population, as Massachusetts does.

SPECIAL HOSPITALS, ETC.

It will be impossible to estimate the extent of the medical charities of Massachusetts, since many of these make no reports to any public authority. The oldest of these is the Boston Dispensary, organized in 1796, and incorporated in 1801, which now employs forty physicians, and treats nearly 30,000 patients yearly. Next in age, after the Massachusetts General Hospital, is the Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary, which has existed in Boston for more than fifty years, and has long been aided by the State. It is a special hospital for diseases of the eye and ear, located now in Charles Street. The study of the eye and its various forms of disease did not claim the attention of scientific men for many years, nor advance so fast as other branches of medicine. It is but little more than a hundred years since European physicians began to cultivate this branch of medical science. In 1773 this resulted in the setting aside of certain wards of the General Hospital in Vienna, for the treatment of ophthalmic disease and the clinical instruction of students in this specialty. In

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the year 1804 this example was followed in Great Britain, in the establishment of the London Eye Infirmary, which in 1810 was opened to students. To this school went several young American physicians, then pursuing their studies abroad; and these physicians began similar enterprises in this country, such as the Eye Infirmary of New York, founded by Drs. Delafield and Rodgers in 1821.

Dr. Edward Reynolds first began a systematic treatment of diseases of the eye among the poor of Boston. In connection with Dr. John Jeffries, he established in November, 1824, the first gratuitous clinique in that city. Commencing with a single room, the benefits conferred by their labors were yet so apparent, that in 1826, at a meeting convened for the purpose, a subscription was at once undertaken to give this charity a permanent place. In March, 1826, at a meeting of the subscribers, the institution was regularly organized under the name of the Boston Eye Infirmary, and a board of managers appointed. In February, 1827, it was incorporated under the name of the Massachusetts Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary. During the following ten years its locality was thrice changed, the last removal being to the Gore Mansion House in Green Street, where, with increased accommodations and facilities, it not only enlarged its sphere of usefulness to the suffering, but threw open its doors to medical students, and established a course of lectures. It thus imparted a new impetus to the study of diseases of the eye, and, through its pupils, spread its benefits far and wide. For fourteen years the institution continued in Green Street; the number of its patients steadily increasing, until, in 1850, nearly twenty-five thousand patients had received relief. The State and private individuals again came forward to its support; and in 1850 the present building on Charles Street was ready for occupation. From November, 1824, to May, 1850, a period of twenty-six years, the whole number of applicants for relief amounted to 24,339; from May, 1850, to October, 1875, a period of twenty-five years, the number was more than 93,000. Thus, during the last quarter of a century, the number of patients was almost four times that of the preceding twenty-six

DR. HOWE'S LABORS.

years. The aggregate is nearly 120,000 persons up to January 1, 1876. The number of beds in the Infirmary is about forty. Half of these are free; the remainder pay the nominal board of three dollars a week, fixed many years ago. The annual expenses of the Infirmary now exceed \$15,000, of which the State pays about one-half. During its whole existence, the State has appropriated to the Eye and Ear Infirmary nearly \$150,000, of which \$25,000 went for construction, and \$121,500 for current expenses. The present property of the Infirmary exceeds \$150,000 in value.

SCHOOLS FOR DEAF-MUTES, FOR THE BLIND, AND FOR IDIOTS.

The recent death of Dr. Howe, who for forty-four years had devoted himself to the education of the Blind, of Deaf-Mutes, and of Idiotic children, may well direct attention to his remarkable success, and to the charities which he founded or promoted. Among his other objects in this work, he desired to place the general instruction of these defective children on the basis, not of charity, where it began, but of public education, where he left it at his death. No citizen of the United States, and perhaps it may be said, of the whole world, has accomplished so much and in so many different ways to improve the instruction of the classes above named, as Dr. Howe did. He founded schools in Massachusetts, he inspired their establishment in other States and in Europe, and he also did much to improve the methods of instruction in schools, especially for the deaf-mute, which he never saw. By his wonderful achievement in teaching language to Laura Bridgman, a deaf, dumb and blind girl, he has extended the possibilities of instruction, and enlarged our conceptions of human power and beneficence. To his genius and practical wisdom, also, as has elsewhere been said, Massachusetts owes some of the best features in other departments of her State Charities.*

* SAMUEL GRIDLEY HOWE was born in Boston, November 10, 1801; fought in the Greek Revolution from 1824 to 1828; opened the Blind Asylum in Boston in 1832; was Chairman of the Board of State Charities from October, 1865, to October, 1874; and died in Boston, January 9, 1876.

DEAF-MUTE EDUCATION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Before the birth of Dr. Howe, and while Dr. Gallaudet (who has usually been considered the pioneer of deaf-mute education in America) was still unacquainted with any method of teaching the deaf, a citizen of Massachusetts, whose own deaf son had been taught to speak by Braidwood of Edinburgh, had made an attempt to open a deaf-mute school in Boston. This was FRANCIS GREEN, the first American who thoroughly understood and zealously advocated the instruction of deaf-mutes. He was born in Boston in 1742, and died in Medford in 1809. His earlier and later years were spent in Massachusetts; but between 1776 and 1797 (having sided with the mother country in our Revolution) he resided at intervals in New York, Halifax and London. He took his bachelor's degree at Harvard College in 1760, being at the time, like Washington, an officer in the British army. He served with credit at the siege of Louisburg in 1758, during the conquest of Martinique in 1761, and at the capture of Havana in 1762. Three years later he sold his commission and engaged in trade at Boston, where he married in 1769, and where his only son, Charles, was born in 1772. At the age of six months the infant was found to be deaf, but no measures were taken to instruct him until his father accidentally heard of Mr. Braidwood's academy for the deaf and dumb at Edinburgh. What then took place is best described by Mr. Green himself.

"Those who know experimentally the tender concern of an only parent for an only son, even under the happiest circumstances of natural advantage, may imagine with what avidity the information of this academy was first received. Although the authority was unquestionable, I, like many others (I acknowledge), had doubts of the practicability of the business to any very great degree. I thought it my duty, however, to send my son across the Atlantic, upon Mr. Braidwood's agreeing to undertake the tuition of him, who accordingly received him in February, 1780. He was then eight years old. Although sprightly, sensible, and quick of apprehension, yet, having been either born deaf, or having lost his hear-

ing by sickness in earliest infancy, he could not at that time produce or distinguish vocal sounds, nor articulate at all. Neither had he any idea of the meaning of words, either when spoken, in writing, or in print; and for want of hearing, would doubtless have remained as speechless as he was born. I soon received the pleasing intelligence that he was beginning to articulate, and soon after that he could plainly express (upon seeing the form in characters) any word in the English language.

"My first visit to him was in May, 1781. It exceeds the power of words to convey any idea of the sensations experienced at this interview. The child, ambitious to manifest his acquisition, eagerly advanced, and addressed me with a distinct salutation of speech. He also made several inquiries in short sentences. I then delivered him a letter from his sister (couched in the simplest terms) which he read so as to be understood; he accompanied many of the words, as he pronounced them, with proper gestures, significative of their meaning, such as in the sentence, 'write a letter by papa': on uttering the first word, he described the art of writing by the motion of his right hand; the second, by tapping the letter he held; the third, by pointing to me. He could at that time repeat the Lord's Prayer very properly, and some other forms, one of which in particular (which I had never heard before) I then took down in writing from his repetition; a convincing proof of his speaking intelligibly;

"*O God! pardon all my sins, make me good and holy; Bless my father and my sister, and all my friends; keep me from all evil, sin, and danger, and take my soul to heaven when I die, for Jesus Christ's sake! Amen!*"

"I found he could in that short time read distinctly, in a slow manner, any English book, although it cannot be supposed he had as yet learned the meaning of many words: he, however, made daily progress in that knowledge. As to writing, there can be no reason why deaf persons may not, by imitation, learn that art as well as any other persons; accordingly, I was not at all surprised that he could write very plainly; this, indeed, he did with uncommon readiness and dexterity, and seemed not a little proud of all his new attainments. I had also the satisfaction to see such specimens, at that time, in the proficiency of others who had been longer at this academy, as left no doubt in my mind of his acquiring in due season a perfect acquaintance with language, both oral and written; and that he would be capable of any art or science whatever, except music and oratory. Perfectly satisfied with his situation in a conscientious and respectable family, I left him to pursue his

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studies, with a degree of hope and joy which on this score I had never expected to have known. On my next visit, in September, 1782, his improvements were very perceptible in speech, the construction of language, and in writing; he had made a good beginning in arithmetic, and surprising progress in the arts of drawing and painting. I found him capable of not only comparing ideas and drawing inferences, but of expressing his sentiments with judgment. On my desiring him to attempt something he thought himself unequal to, I set him the example by doing it myself, upon which he shook his head, and with a smile replied (distinctly, *à viva voce*), '*You are a man, sir; I am a boy.*'

"Observing that he was inclined in company to converse with one of his school-fellows by the tacit finger-language, I asked him why he did not speak to him with his mouth. To this his answer was as pertinent as it was concise, '*He is deaf.*' Many other instances I could mention of expressions of the mind, as proper as could be made by any boy of his age who had not the disadvantage of deafness."^a

Shortly after he left school, Charles Green was drowned while shooting in the neighborhood of Halifax, N. S., where his father then (in 1787) resided. Francis Green returned in 1797 to his native town of Boston, but fixed his residence in Medford. We next find him writing articles for the newspapers, in relation to the education of deaf-mutes. On the 22d of March, 1803, he began a series of papers in the in the "*New England Palladium*," a semi-weekly Boston newspaper. These were mainly translations from the writings of De l'Épée, but in his first communication he urges the importance of "a public institution or academical establishment, for the purpose of rescuing from ignorance and comparative uselessness that unfortunate class of our fellow-creatures, the naturally deaf, commonly called the *deaf* and *dumb*." He goes on to say, "Whether this country be as yet ripe for the establishment of public academical institutions of this nature or not, the art may be practised with happy efficacy by any private individual."

About a dozen years after the publication of these papers by Francis Green, in Boston, Rev. Thomas H. Gallaudet, then

^a *Vox Oculis Subjecta*, pp. 147-153.

THE HARTFORD ASYLUM FOR THE DEAF.

residing in Hartford, Conn., became interested in a deaf child there, and proposed to cross the Atlantic to make himself acquainted with the methods in use, in England and elsewhere, for teaching the deaf. Some gentlemen of Connecticut raised money to pay his expenses on this journey, and he sailed on the 15th of May, 1815. Returning in August, 1816, he brought with him Laurent Clerc, a French deaf-mute, and a pupil of the Abbé Sicard, who had succeeded the Abbé de l'Épée at the head of the deaf-mute school of Paris. Mr. Gallaudet had not prospered in his communications with the successors of Braidwood in Great Britain, and had gone over to France, where he was warmly welcomed, and favored in his wish to acquire some knowledge of the methods there pursued by Sicard and his associates. The success of Percire in teaching French deaf-mutes to articulate and read from the lips (as Braidwood's pupils afterwards did in Scotland), was quite forgotten at Paris in 1816, and Mr. Gallaudet returned home with no knowledge that such success was possible. By bringing for his chief assistant a deaf-mute, he made it inevitable that articulation should not be used in his Hartford school, which had been chartered by the Connecticut legislature in May, 1816. Toward the close of that year a subscription of \$12,000 was raised in aid of the school, of which just about half was subscribed in Massachusetts; and when it was finally opened with seven pupils in April, 1817, four of them were from Massachusetts. The pupils soon increased to 21, and in 1819 to about 50. In that year the State of Massachusetts appropriated about \$2,500 for the support of 20 pupils at Hartford, and in 1830, when its pupils had increased to 50, Massachusetts had paid for them from the state treasury about \$45,000. By 1867, when the largest sum ever paid at Hartford was appropriated by the State (\$19,610) a little less than half the Hartford pupils (100 out of 230) were from Massachusetts. Since then both the number of pupils and the sum paid have decreased, and this sum, in 1875, was but \$12,000. Up to the present date, the State has paid about \$450,000 for the current expenses of the Hartford Asylum, during seven-and-fifty years.

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In 1864, and again in 1866-7, efforts were made by Dr. Howe, Mr. Gardiner G. Hubbard and others to obtain a charter for a deaf-mute school to be situated in Massachusetts, and managed by the friends of articulation as a method of instructing the pupils. At a hearing before a legislative committee in 1864, Mrs. Edwin Lamson, of Boston, who had been one of the teachers of Laura Bridgman at the Massachusetts Blind Asylum, was present, and gave her evidence against the use of signs in the instruction of the deaf, and in favor of the manual alphabet and the experiment of teaching by articulation. The attention of Mrs. Cushing, of Boston, who had a deaf daughter, was attracted by the discussion, and, after careful consideration, she determined that her child should be taught articulation. By the advice of Mrs. Lamson, Mrs. Cushing applied to Miss Rogers, of Billerica, then known as a skilful teacher of speaking children, who, with some hesitation, undertook the task. A few months of earnest effort convinced Miss Rogers of the great advantages of this system, and so enlisted her sympathies and energies, that she determined to devote her life to the work, if a suitable number of pupils could be secured and the means to support a school provided. In 1865 a meeting was called at the house of Mrs. Lamson in Boston, at which Miss Rogers explained what had already been accomplished, and her plans for the future. A sum sufficient to defray the expenses of the undertaking was subscribed by several gentlemen, and in November, 1865, the following advertisement was published:—

"Miss Rogers proposes to take a few deaf-mutes as pupils for instruction in articulation and reading from the lips, without the use of signs or the finger alphabet. The number is limited to seven, two of whom are already engaged."

In June, 1866, she opened her school at Chelmsford with five scholars. Another entered in September, and two more in the spring of 1867, and at the expiration of one year she had obtained the desired number of pupils. The success attending these efforts having proved that it was not a visionary scheme, but a practical work, its friends determined to make

THE CLARKE INSTITUTION FOR THE DEAF.

a second application to the legislature. Dr. S. G. Howe, then chairman of the Board of State Charities, and F. B. Sanborn, then secretary, also advocated an improved system of instruction in their Second and Third Annual Reports, and recommended that the education of the deaf should be commenced at an earlier age, and continued for a longer period.

In December, 1866, John Clarke, Esq., of Northampton, a gentleman of wealth, caused the Governor of Massachusetts to be informed that he was ready to endow a deaf-mute school in Massachusetts with a large part of his estate. This he afterwards did,—the amount of his gifts and bequests finally exceeding \$300,000. After a long hearing, in 1867, the legislative committee, which in 1864 had refused to recommend such a school, was induced by the munificence of Mr. Clarke, the earnest recommendation of Governor Bullock, the arguments brought forward, and the success of Miss Rogers in her small school, to report two bills, which were passed, and which provided:—

1. For the incorporation of an institution for deaf-mutes at Northampton.
2. For primary instruction of younger pupils than are now received at the American Asylum.
3. For a longer term of instruction than had hitherto been allowed to pupils aided by the State.
4. For an additional appropriation to enable the Governor to answer the existing applications of pupils requiring state aid.
5. For the supervision by the Board of Education of all deaf-mute pupils aided by the Commonwealth.

Thus was the Clarke Institution incorporated. Its corporators, at the time of its organization, were not pledged to any system of instruction, and the majority of them had no decided opinion upon the subject; but, at the first meeting, the question was practically decided by the adoption of the report of the school committee, which recommended, among other things, "that an articulating school, under the charge of Miss Rogers, be established at Northampton." The school of Miss Rogers was removed from Chelmsford to Northampton

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in the summer of 1867, and became the nucleus of the present Clarke School, which now contains sixty pupils, most of them supported in part by the State. The city of Boston, a few years later, opened an articulating day school for the deaf, where there are now sixty-three pupils; and this school is aided by the State, like those at Hartford and Northampton. The amount paid by the State at Northampton, in 1875, was \$11,415; at Boston \$6,577; the whole appropriation for the three schools being \$30,000, and the whole sum paid by the State since 1819, at the three schools, being above \$530,000.

THE PERKINS INSTITUTION FOR THE BLIND.

Not many years after the Hartford School was opened for the instruction of the deaf, a kindred movement was made in Massachusetts to teach the blind.

In the year 1827-28, several gentlemen in Boston became interested in the matter of educating the blind, and formed themselves into a society. They raised a small sum by subscription to begin a school. They expended this in gathering knowledge of all that had been done in Europe, in the matter of systematic instruction of the blind. After much discussion and some rude experiments, they became convinced of the practicability of establishing a school which would be useful to the blind, and lighten their dark path in life. This little society petitioned the legislature for an Act of incorporation, which was granted in 1829, under the name "The New England Asylum for the Blind." This name was afterwards changed to that of the "New England Institution for the Education of the Blind," and again to its present one. The Act provided for the appointment of a board of visitors, composed of the governor, lieutenant-governor, president of the senate, speaker of the house of representatives, and the chaplains of the two houses. This board was authorized to appoint four persons to act as trustees in behalf of the State, with eight others elected annually by the corporation. It was afterwards abolished, and its powers and duties devolved upon the governor and council, as a more convenient arrangement. Soon after the primary organization was complete,

THE PERKINS INSTITUTION FOR THE BLIND.

the trustees petitioned the legislature to grant money in aid of the new school. The State had for several years made an appropriation of \$6,500 to pay for the education of deaf-mutes belonging to Massachusetts at the American Asylum in Hartford; but, as there were not applicants enough to exhaust this fund, the legislature appropriated the unexpended balance to the Institution for the Blind. As soon as this became a law, and the new institution went into operation, applicants for admission increased rapidly; more funds were needed, and the legislature generously came to its aid by an outright annual grant of \$6,000, upon condition that the governor should have the right to recommend twenty blind children of indigent parents, inhabitants of Massachusetts, as beneficiaries. The grant has gradually been increased to \$30,000 a year, and now all the blind children of Massachusetts are admitted as pupils until they have been sufficiently instructed. The average of annual grants since the first (in 1830) has been about \$13,500. A certain amount of income is derived from other New England States which send beneficiaries to our institution and pay therefor at the rate of \$300 each, annually. The State has also paid about \$130,000 for buildings, and its aggregate appropriation for current expenses has been \$585,000, up to January 1, 1876.

There have been many private benefactors of this School for the Blind, chief among whom must be reckoned Dr. Howe himself, who for nearly forty-four years, that is, from 1832 to 1876, devoted his talents and his influence to its success, until he made it the most efficient and famous school of its kind in the country. He died within sight of its roof, and his funeral procession set forth from its chapel, where his pupils joined in the last rites of affection and honor. The largest donation of money made to the school was the sum of \$50,000, given by Mr. William Oliver; next to which comes the gift of Colonel Perkins, for whom the school was named, nearly forty years ago. He presented his mansion-house in Pearl Street, Boston, where for some years the "Perkins Institution" was established, and he also contributed generously to its first endowment. In 1840 it was removed to the

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"Mount Washington House," in South Boston, where it has since continued and will for the present remain. The amount given by Colonel Perkins may perhaps be estimated at \$40,000. Mr. John Templeton, not many years since, made a bequest of \$20,000, and Mrs. Ann Vose, more recently, of \$10,000. Among the other benefactors may be named Charles Dickens, the novelist (who paid the cost of printing his "Old Curiosity Shop" in raised letters for the pupils of Dr. Howe), Samuel May, Peter C. Brooks, John C. Gray, and George Lee.

THE INSTRUCTION OF LAURA BRIDGMAN.

It would be foreign to the scope of this Report to dwell at length on the arrangements of the Perkins Institution for the Blind, or its general method of instruction, it being now, like the Deaf-Mute Schools named above, under the supervision of the State Board of Education, and no longer under that of the Board of Charities. But the history of public charity in Massachusetts would be incomplete if brief notice were not taken of the instruction by Dr. Howe, nearly forty years ago, of the deaf, dumb and blind child, Laura Bridgman, which was carried on at the South Boston School. In giving the facts, it will be well to follow the very words of Dr. Howe, who said, in 1874:—

"It was considered as an open question whether a deaf, dumb and blind person, if found, could be taught any system of signs which would serve for a language; and Searid did not venture, I think, to suggest any way by which it could be done. I often, while reading or thinking of the matter, had asked myself the same question, soon after becoming familiar with the usual methods of teaching the blind and the deaf-mutes, and I resolved to make the attempt to teach the first one I should hear of. When, therefore, I read in a country paper an account, written by Dr. Muzzey, of a girl in New Hampshire said to be devoid of sight, hearing and smell, I started forthwith to ascertain the facts of the case. I found in a little village in the mountains a pretty and lively girl, about seven years old, who was totally blind and deaf, and who had only a very indistinct sense of smell; so indistinct that, unlike other young deaf-mutes, who are continually smelling at things, she did not smell even at her food. This sense afterwards developed itself a little,

THE INSTRUCTION OF LAURA BRIDGMAN.

but was never much used or relied upon by her. She lost her senses by scarlet fever so early that she has no recollection of any exercise of them. Her father was a substantial farmer; and his wife a very intelligent woman. My proposal to try to give regular instruction to the child seemed to be a very wild one. But the mother, a woman of considerable natural ability, animated by warm love for her daughter, eagerly assented to my proposal, and in a few days little Laura was brought to my house in Boston and placed under regular instruction by lessons improvised for the occasion.

"I required her by signs, which she soon came to understand, to devote several hours a day to learning to use her hands, and to acquiring command of her muscles and limbs. But my principal aim and hope was to enable her to recognize the twenty-six signs which represent the letters of the alphabet. She submitted to the process patiently, though without understanding its purpose. I first selected short monosyllables, so that the sign which she was to learn might be as simple as possible. I placed before her, on the table, a pen and a pin, and then, making her take notice of the fingers of one of my hands, I placed them in the three positions used as signs of the manual alphabet of deaf-mutes, for the letters *p e n*, and made her feel of them, over and over again many times, so that they might be associated together in her mind. I did the same with the pin, and repeated it scores of times. She at last perceived that the signs were complex, and that the middle sign of the one, that is, the *e*, differed from the middle sign of the other, that is, *i*. This was the first step gained. This process was repeated over and over, hundreds of times, until, finally, the association was established in her mind between the sign composed of three signs, and expressed by three positions of my fingers, and the article itself, so that when I held up the pen to her she would herself make the complex sign; and when I made the complex sign on my fingers, she would triumphantly pick up the pen, and hold it up before me, as much as to say, 'This is what you want.' Then the same process was gone over with the pin, until the association in her mind was intimate and complete between the two articles, and the complex positions of the fingers. She had thus learned two arbitrary signs, or the names of the two different things. She seemed conscious of having understood and done what I wanted, for she smiled. I now felt that the first step had been taken successfully, and that this was the only really difficult one, because by continuing the same process by which she had become enabled to distinguish two articles, by two arbitrary signs, she could go on and learn to express in signs two

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thousand, and, finally, the forty and odd thousand signs, or words in the English language.

"I went on with monosyllables, as being the simplest, and she learned gradually one sign of a letter from another, until she knew all the arbitrary, tangible twenty-six letters of the alphabet, and how to arrange them to express various objects: *knife, fork, spoon, thread*, and the like. Afterwards she learned the names of the ten numerals or digits, of the punctuation and exclamation and interrogation points, some forty-six in all. With these she could express the name of every thing, of every thought, of every feeling, and all the numberless shades thereof. She had thus got the '*open sesame*' to the whole treasury of the English language. She seemed aware of the importance of the process; and worked at it eagerly and incessantly, taking up various articles, and inquiring by gestures and looks, what signs upon her fingers were to be put together in order to express their names. At times she was too radiant with delight to be able to conceal her emotions.

"It sometimes occurred to me that she was like a person alone and helpless in a deep, dark, still pit, and that I was letting down a cord and dangling it about, in hopes she might find it; and that finally she would seize it by chance and, clinging to it, be drawn up by it into the light of day, and into human society. And it did so happen; and thus she, instinctively and unconsciously, aided in her happy deliverance. . . .

"And so she went on, diligently and happily, for a score or more of years, until at last she acquired a large vocabulary of words, and could converse readily and rapidly with all deaf-mutes, and all persons who could use these signs. She could read printed books readily and easily; finding out for herself, for instance, any chapter and verse of Scripture. She could also read letters from her friends in pricked type, or by the Braille system of points. She could also write down her own thoughts and experiences in a diary; and could keep up a correspondence with her family and friends by sending to them letters in pencil, and receiving their answers either in pricked letters, which she could read by the touch, or letters written with ink or pencil, which could be read to her by some confidential seeing person. Thus was she happily brought at last into easy and free relations with her fellow-creatures; and made one of the human family."

The success of Dr. Howe in this noble experiment was, in fact, perfect and complete. His pupil, now a mature woman,

THE INSTRUCTION OF IDIOTS.

still lives to bless his patient kindness, to lament his death, and to revere his memory, which will always give a romantic interest to the place so long associated with his benevolent labors.

THE MASSACHUSETTS SCHOOL FOR IDIOTS.

Scarcely had Dr. Howe demonstrated to the world that persons deprived of their three most important senses could be restored to communication with mankind, when the sad condition of another class of children attracted his notice and induced him to found a school for them. These were the idiots, for whom, before 1846, scarcely anything had been done in America or in Europe. Before 1837, idiocy was pronounced incurable by the highest medical authorities; but in that year the French physicians, Itard, Gnersaut and Esquirol, advised the first trial of methodical treatment for idiocy, and the result of that method was published by Séguin, in Paris, in 1846. But long before this, Dr. Howe's mind had been turned to the problem.

As early as 1839, an idiotic blind child was received at his Institution for the Blind, not only unsound in mind, but infirm in body, unable to walk, and nearly paralytic. Dr. Howe decided to retain and try to improve him. Guided by the idea that the first and most important object in a system of instruction is to develop and improve the body and put it into the best possible condition for the development of the mental faculties, he put the child under such a course of treatment as the rules of physiology and hygiene suggested. This was persisted in, until the child was found to be greatly improved in every respect, and his condition so far ameliorated as to suggest that even the poor idiot was not beyond the reach of training and improvement in mind. Two other similar cases of children, blind and idiotic, were soon after treated by Dr. Howe, and with such favorable results that in 1845, after many private consultations with his friends, he resolved to address the public on the subject. Accordingly, Mr. Horatio Byington, then a representative from Stockbridge, moved an Order of the House, which was passed on

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the 22d of January, 1846, for the appointment of a committee to consider the expediency of appointing commissioners to inquire into the condition of idiots in this Commonwealth, to ascertain their number, and whether anything could be done for their relief, and to report on the subject to the next General Court. The committee thus appointed did their work promptly and faithfully. About this time, a committee was appointed upon the same subject in the New York Senate; and, by a curious coincidence, both these committees, each acting quite independently of the other, and probably ignorant of the other's existence, made their respective reports on the 25th of March, 1846. The plan proposed by the New York committee provided for the immediate establishment of an asylum; but this was not adopted by the legislature until some years later. In Massachusetts, a commission was appointed by Governor Briggs, of which Dr. Howe was made chairman, and which, after two years' work, reported in 1848. This report of Dr. Howe on Idiocy, in a pamphlet of 150 pages, contained an account of a thorough investigation into the nature, causes, and various forms of idiocy, and a full statement of the condition and treatment of idiots in almshouses and private families in Massachusetts. It also gave information concerning what had been done in some of the best European schools established for children of this class. The tables appended to this report gave an account of the mental and physical condition, and (so far as they could be ascertained) of the hereditary tendencies of 574 idiots, and various measurements of the height, size of head and chest, conditions of body and manifestations of mind of these persons, compared with the average, in these particulars, of one thousand ordinary persons. This report led to a series of Resolves by the legislature, entitled "Resolves concerning Training and Teaching Idiots," which were approved May 8, 1848, and by which a sum not exceeding \$2,500 annually, for the term of three years, was appropriated for the purpose of training and teaching ten idiotic children, to be selected from those at public charge, or from the families of indigent persons in different parts of the Commonwealth, "provided

THE IDIOT SCHOOL ESTABLISHED.

that an arrangement can be made by the governor and council with any suitable institution now patronized by the Commonwealth for charitable purposes."

Agreeably to the spirit of these Resolves, arrangements were made by the governor with the trustees of the Perkins Institution for the Blind to do this work; the task was undertaken by Dr. Howe, and was done satisfactorily. In the meantime an institution had been incorporated and organized under the title of the "Massachusetts School for Idiotic and Feeble-Minded Youth"; and at the expiration of the three experimental years, the legislature doubled the appropriation by making an annual grant of \$5,000 a year to the new school. It soon became evident to all who examined the subject closely, that this institution was really doing a needful work which could not be done elsewhere, and that there should be a proper building to do it in. The legislature, therefore, in 1855, voted the sum of \$25,000 for such a building. Until then the work of the Idiot School had been carried on in uncomfortable and narrow quarters. It had been incorporated April 30, 1851, and the annual grant of the State was then increased to \$5,000, on condition that thirty poor pupils were there instructed without charge. It was some little time before the number was filled up. There had been but twenty up to the 1st of January, 1852; but two years later the trustees reported that they had "fulfilled all the conditions of the grant from the State." In 1855 the state grant of \$25,000 was made on condition that the friends of the institution should raise and contribute the sum of \$5,000 more, for the purpose of finishing the building. The trustees appointed a committee, consisting of Samuel Hoar, William Minot and Dr. Howe, to raise the money required, and they did so within the time specified. The trustees at first sought for some building which had been already erected for other purposes, and which, not being used or wanted, might be obtained for a lower sum than its original cost; but being unable to succeed in this plan, they purchased the site upon which the school now stands, and made arrangements for erecting a building, which was ready for occupancy early in October, 1856. It is near the water-side in

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South Boston, and its situation is one of the pleasantest and most salubrious that any of the state establishments enjoy. It is less than half a mile from the Perkins Institution for the Blind, and like that, has enjoyed the daily supervision of its founder, who did not resign its direction until a few months before his death. The existence of the school was owing to Dr. Howe's efforts, more than to those of any and all other persons. For several years he worked almost alone (aided by his friend, Dr. Jarvis), and gave a large part of his time to the service of the school, where he was in daily attendance, and examined all candidates for admission. Dr. Howe prescribed the diet and regimen, the rules and regulations of the establishment, the discipline and exercises in the school and gymnasium, made all the examinations in person, kept the correspondence, and ordered all expenses. He also travelled much in search of pupils; visited other States, and brought before their legislatures the plan of having their idiotic children sent to this school. He spared no efforts to have the institution included within the circle of state charities, and labored in season and out of season to bring it up to its present condition of usefulness.

Up to January 1, 1855, the whole number of pupils had been but 113, of whom three-fourths had probably been state beneficiaries. In the year 1855 the average number of pupils was 39. Since 1856, the number of pupils has slowly increased, and the bounty of the State has been bestowed more liberally. From 1857 to 1860, both inclusive, the regular annual appropriation was \$7,500; in 1861, it was increased to \$9,000, and since then to \$12,000, \$16,000, and now \$20,000. It has received in all 548 pupils, and has done great good. It has rescued many children of merely feeble minds from the imbecility into which they had fallen through abuse or neglect or injudicious treatment,—children who were considered as idiots, and who would have sunk into hopeless idiocy, but for the help afforded at this School. It has given speech to some who were dumb, and who, if left without special aid and training, would have remained so. More than three-fifths of all the pupils of the School have been improved either phys-

THE RESULTS OF THE IDIOT SCHOOL.

ically, morally or intellectually, by their stay in the establishment. They have been put into a higher state of health and vigor; have been trained to the command and use of muscle and limb; to feed and dress themselves, and conduct themselves with decency and decorum. Their gluttonous and unseemly habits have been broken up. They have been trained to temperance, cleanliness and order, until these habits have become with them a second nature. Their powers of self-control have been strengthened, and they strive to make themselves less unsightly and disagreeable to others. Many of the pupils have been trained to habits of industry, so that they may at least be less burdensome to their friends and neighbors, or to the townships or communities by which they are supported. Their mental faculties and moral sentiments have been developed by lessons and exercises suitable to their feeble condition, and they have been raised in the scale of humanity. And now, besides this School, there are nine others of the same kind in different parts of the United States, supported mostly by funds raised from general taxation. There are to-day over eleven hundred feeble-minded children, who are receiving instruction in these institutions, and the work of training them is carried on by a number of able and cultivated persons, who have not only become interested in the improvement of their pupils, but labor zealously for the elevation of idiots as a class.

The Idiot School, like the Blind Asylum, is managed by a board of twelve trustees, in part chosen by the corporation, and in part appointed by the Governor of Massachusetts. It is now practically a state establishment, and has cost the state treasury in construction expenses \$54,000 since 1848, and in current expenses, about \$272,000. Its present superintendent is Dr. Edward Jarvis.

THE REFORMATORY SCHOOLS.

Like most of our public charities, the Reformatories of Massachusetts grew up gradually, from small beginnings, and with no very definite perception at the outset of the undertaking which was thus begun. The oldest establishment of this

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class in the Commonwealth, and one of the oldest in the world, is the *Boston Asylum and Farm School*, for many years located on Thompson's Island, in Dorchester Bay. Originally, it was called the *Boston Asylum for Indigent Boys*; it was proposed in 1813, incorporated in 1814, and went into active operation at a time when the population of Boston was only about 40,000. It was not at first, nor is it now, technically speaking, a reformatory; yet from its very beginning it has served one of the chief purposes of a reformatory, namely, to restrain neglected children from vicious courses by a judicious system of education. In this work it had been anticipated by the *Boston Female Asylum*, founded in 1800, which has performed a like service for girls. In 1831, the funds of the Boston Asylum for Indigent Boys became so insufficient, that an appeal was made to the public to sustain the institution. About the same time the public were also urged to establish a "Farm School"; an earnest appeal on this subject having been put forth by Judge Jackson, Rev. Joseph Tuckerman, and others. As a result, the Island where the *Farm School* now is was bought in 1833, and a year or two later the boys at the Asylum in Salem Street were transferred to the new institutions, and the two charities were united in one, as they have remained to the present day. For more than forty years, therefore, the institution on Thompson's Island has existed in very nearly its present form. The first state reformatory in America, the Westborough Reform School, is an offshoot of this Farm School; the connection of the late Theodore Lyman with both being the prompting cause of the early success of the Westborough School.

It has sometimes been said that the practical reformation of prisons, according to the ideas of Howard, began in England; sometimes, in the Netherlands; and, sometimes, in the United States. However this may be, it seems certain that the first system of public reformatories for children originated in our own country.* The New York House of Refuge was the first essay of this kind on a large scale, and the benevolent genius

* The English "Philanthropic Society," by which the Red Hill Reformatory was established, in 1839, dates back to 1789; but this was not a public institution.

LIVINGSTON ON REFORM SCHOOLS.

of Edward Livingston first arrayed the arguments for a system of reformatory schools as a part of the penal code. In 1827, when the New York House of Refuge had been established for three years, and when those at Philadelphia and Boston were just opening, Livingston published his Penal Code of Louisiana, in which he thus laid down the true principle of dealing with young delinquents and neglected children:—

"The obligation rests on the community to be a father to the fatherless; to snatch the innocent child from the hands of depraved parents, and the orphan from the contamination of vice and infamy; and instead of harsh punishments, inflicted for offences which its own neglect of duty has occasioned, to remove their cause by the milder methods of instruction and useful employment. The place for the confinement of juvenile offenders, for these reasons, is to be considered more as a school for instruction than a prison for degrading punishment. . . . Vice is more infectious than disease: many maladies of the body are not communicated even by contact, but there is no vice that affects the mind which is not imparted by constant association; and it would be more reasonable to put a man in a pest-house to cure him of a headache, than to confine a young offender in a penitentiary, organized on the ordinary plan, in order to effect his reformation."

These remarks, although made so long ago, are still applicable to the management of reformatories; and the principle here laid down has been acted upon by all who have since dealt with the matter. A few years later (1833), a German clergyman, Herr Wichern, of Hamburg, instituted at an old thatched cottage in the suburbs of that city (the *Rauhe Haus*) the "Family System" of training vicious children, which was an improvement on the practical methods of Livingston. In 1839, M. Demetz, then a high magistrate in Paris, withdrew from the bench in order to found a similar institution at Mettray, near Tours. This has since become so successful as to eclipse the fame of its model in Germany; its founder is dead, but his system continues, and Mettray now contains more than 700 boys. It has been, in turn, imitated at Ruysselede, Beernem and Wynghene, in Belgium;

in the "Dutch Mettray" of Holland; at Red Hill and elsewhere in England; and in this country at Lancaster, in Massachusetts, at Lancaster, in Ohio, in the Indiana Reform School, and in many other reformatories, public and private.

The first public reformatories in America were not established on the Family System, and these old establishments have never really adopted it. They were opened before 1830 in three of our largest cities, and were either supported or materially aided by the city governments. The first in order of time was the New York House of Refuge, opened in 1824, and now located on Randall's Island. The second was the Boston House of Reformation, which was modelled after the New York House of Refuge, and was authorized by the General Court in 1826. In the following year the city gave it permission to use the buildings erected for a house of correction at South Boston, and they were opened for the reception of children in June, 1827. Both boys and girls were received, as is the custom now, but the number of girls was small in comparison, never rising above a quarter part, and sometimes falling below a fifth part of the whole, during the first ten years of the institution.

The fortunes of the Boston House of Reformation have been varied; it being sometimes in high esteem as a place for educating neglected children and preventing crime, and at other times under censure. The first permanent superintendent, Rev. E. M. P. Wells, was censured in 1832-3 for regarding too little the education of his pupils. In 1831 an effort had been made (on the memorial of R. W. Emerson, then a member of the Boston School Committee) to change the House of Reformation into a Farm School; but no result seems to have followed. In 1833, the building occupied being taken for its original purpose,—a house of correction,—the children were removed temporarily to Fort Warren. They were then brought back and placed in the wing of the House of Correction; but this proving a bad locality, in 1834-5 another building was provided at South Boston, in which the pupils were separately instructed and employed until 1841, when the House of Industry and the House of

Reformation were united under one government at South Boston. After the building of the City Almshouse at Deer Island, in 1851, a branch of the House of Industry was established there; and finally, in 1858, the whole institution, together with the House of Reformation, was removed from South Boston to Deer Island. During a portion of the last forty years, another institution, the Boylston Asylum, or School for Indigent Boys, has likewise been connected with the House of Reformation, but not for some years past.

The House of Reformation at present contains more children than were ever united in it and the Boylston School; although it is now mainly, if not exclusively, devoted to the reception of Truants, under the truant law of 1862. The average number for the past ten years has been nearly 300, and the average annual cost from \$40,000 to \$50,000.

THE STATE REFORM SCHOOL AT WESTBOROUGH.

The Farm School, at Thompson's Island, may be regarded as the parent of the Westborough School. Mr. Theodore Lyman, whose benevolence stimulated our legislators to the establishment of the Reform School, and who himself selected the spot where the institution was afterwards built, had been for some years president of the board of managers of the Farm School, and had thus been led to consider the necessity of a fuller provision for neglected children and juvenile delinquents. Whether his plan for a State institution (as developed in his letters to Mr. A. D. Foster, written in 1846, though first published in 1859), was formed before any legislative action, does not appear; but no sooner had the General Court of 1846 taken steps in the matter, than Mr. Lyman hastened privately to offer his contributions and his counsels to his friend, Mr. Foster, who was one of the commissioners appointed. The shape which the plan took was due very much to these benevolent proposals of Mr. Lyman, by whom the new institution was liberally endowed.

The whole subject was brought before the General Court early in 1846 by a petition from many magistrates and citizens, among whom was Chief Justice Shaw, asking for the

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creation of a "State Institution for the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders." A committee, of which the chairman was Mr. E. Rockwood Hoar, of Concord, was appointed to consider the matter. This committee issued a circular, dated February 20, 1846, containing nine questions in regard to the general subject. The answers received from many citizens in this and other States, convinced the committee, and through them the General Court, of the necessity of establishing such an institution as was asked for. Accordingly, by a Resolve of April 16, 1846, the governor was authorized to appoint three commissioners, who should purchase land for "the erection of a State Manual Labor School." They were further directed "to procure plans and estimates for the buildings necessary," "to prepare and mature a system for the government" of such a school, and "to ascertain what laws would be necessary and proper to put the same into successful operation." The commissioners named were Alfred Dwight Foster, of Worcester, Robert Rantoul, Sr., of Beverly, and Samuel H. Walley of Roxbury. They made their preliminary report on the 12th of January, 1847, and by a Resolve of April 17, 1847, they were directed to proceed to the erection of the necessary buildings for three hundred boys. An appropriation of \$45,000 was made for this purpose, the farm in Westborough having been already purchased and paid for out of the first donation (\$10,000) of Mr. Lyman. A second donation of \$10,000 was offered by Mr. Lyman to aid in carrying on the school.

The sum appropriated by the Legislature was found to be insufficient, and the further sum of \$21,000 was appropriated to finish the buildings, which were begun in the latter part of June, 1847. They were so far completed by the first of November, 1848, that the school was opened on that day. Up to December 1, 1848, twenty-three boys had been admitted. The buildings were dedicated December 7, 1848, on which occasion an address was made by Judge Washburn, since governor of the Commonwealth. The buildings first erected were intended for only three hundred boys, and it was not the opinion of Mr. Lyman, or of the first commissioners, that

THE ENLARGEMENTS AT WESTBOROUGH.

more than this number should be received. At the end of the first year, however, there were more than three hundred boys, and they continued to increase until 1858, when six hundred and thirty-nine boys were at one time congregated there. To receive a number so large, it had been found necessary to double the original dimensions of the structure. This was done in 1852-3, and the new building was dedicated on the 3d of November, 1853. About the same time the farm, originally containing 181 acres, and increased by Mr. Lyman's second purchase, was still further enlarged by the purchase of twenty-nine acres more, so that in 1858 it contained 283 acres.

It does not appear that the policy of making these successive enlargements was seriously opposed, though there were many, including Dr. Howe, who distrusted it. In August, 1859, however, the public attention was forcibly called to the matter by the burning of the additions made in 1852, which, with some parts of the original structure, were entirely destroyed by a fire set by one of the pupils of the School. At the time of the fire, the number of pupils was no less than 572. It so happened that an extra session of the Legislature had been called, to meet in Boston early in September. At this session the condition of the School was laid before the members by Governor Banks, in a special message, dated the 7th of September, 1859, in which he recommended that a portion of the building should be rebuilt, but that no attempt should be made to provide room for more than two hundred boys in one building, and that a separate school should be established for the training of young offenders as seamen. The committee of the Legislature, to whom the message was referred, agreed in the main with its suggestions. Their report, written by Hon. Martin Brimmer, recommends that no more than two hundred boys be lodged in the main building, but that detached houses be established for family schools, each house to contain no more than thirty pupils, and the number of detached houses not to exceed five. "They would thus limit the whole number in the institution to three hundred and fifty, at the utmost;" and they ex-

pressed "the unanimous opinion that if, now or hereafter, more need to be provided for, it should be done elsewhere than at Westborough." Accordingly, the succeeding Legislature appropriated the sum of \$30,000, to rebuild such parts of the old structure as were needed under the new policy, and to put up and build detached houses enough to receive about one-third of the boys. This appropriation was large enough to complete the "family houses," and these detached buildings, three in number, contain at present eighty-four boys, while the main building contains nearly three hundred.

The site of the buildings was selected by Mr. Lyman himself. They stand on a slightly eminence, near a small lake, known as Chauncy Pond, about two and a half miles from the railroad station in Westborough. The main building, which is substantially the same as that erected in 1847-8, is of brick, and is built around a quadrangular court, which serves as a yard and play-ground for those boys who occupy this building. Under a Resolve of 1875 the Trustees are now building a large extension of the present structure upon much of the ground covered by that portion of the great building which was burnt in 1859. The original building was arranged for confinement and labor, as well as for instruction; it contained, and still contains, dormitories in which the boys are locked up at night, and cells where they are confined in the daytime. All the doors are kept locked, the windows are grated, and many precautions are taken against escapes. In the wings are the workshops, of which the chief one is for chair-work; and in these labor for a certain number of hours is required of the boys. The division of time, established in 1848, was: for labor, six hours; for school, four hours; for sleep, eight and one-half hours, and four and one-half hours for devotional exercises, incidental duties and recreation. Mr. Lyman, in writing to the Commissioners in 1846, said: "The general business of the school will be agriculture; but, in the winter months, more time will be given to the instruction of the boys, not only in the com-

mon branches of education, but, it may be, also, in some mechanical trades."

The labor now in use at the School is partly mechanical and partly agricultural. Those who live in the three detached houses, or "families," pay more attention to farm and garden work, and less to mechanical employments, than those who are under restraint in the main building.

The Family System, where it can be employed, is no doubt the best. Under it, kind watchfulness is substituted for prison discipline. Institutions of this sort are in no sense prisons, and consequently the long catalogue of prison offences is not kept in them, while the rewards and punishments in use become essentially different. Now, up to the burning of the Reform School, in 1859,—a most fortunate conflagration,—its pupils were in all essential respects prisoners. They might be trusted outside the walls, but so are convicts; they might be, and were, taught many useful things, but so are convicts. Indeed, by the original law, their sentence to the Reform School was an alternative one; that is, in lieu of a commitment to a House of Correction, Workhouse or Jail, the boys were committed to the Westborough School for a longer period, but frequently for no more than a year. This was an error of which the evil results soon began to be seen. The boys regarded the school as the magistrates did,—it was a prison to them, and they sought to escape from it. They tried to exchange their long sentence for a shorter period at the county prison, and to do this, they would commit crimes which otherwise would not have been thought of. The boy who set fire to the building in August, 1859, did so in the hope of being sent to the House of Correction. Certain boys, severely punished by imprisonment in 1860, were contumacious, because they hoped to exchange their place of imprisonment by showing a temper such as demanded the discipline of a House of Correction. The Trustees had not failed to represent the mischievous working of the plan of "alternative sentence," and were particularly earnest in their recommendations on this point, in their report of October, 1859, when so much light had been thrown on the whole matter by the events of

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the August preceding. They had already, on the 2d of September, in a report to the Governor, advised that in rebuilding the house, better provision should be made for classifying the boys inside the walls, and that outside, a Farm Department should be established, on the family system. "Thus," they say, "the congregated and the family systems may be perfectly and advantageously combined." This perfection has not yet been attained.

The Legislatures of 1859 and 1860 abolished the alternative sentence, and decreed that boys should not be received above the age of fourteen; they also established the School Ship, or Nautical Reformatory, which was expected to receive the older and more unmanageable boys, and they provided for the building of separate houses outside the walls. In 1860, the discussion on the removal of the Trustees, who were supposed to be less friendly to the Family System than public opinion then demanded, gave the required occasion for the inauguration of a new policy.

The Family System was therefore initiated at Westborough, with the intention of carrying it out as fully as possible in after-years. Instead of this, however, nothing further has been done than to build the three family houses above mentioned, which were all completed and occupied before the establishment of the Board of Charities in 1863. At the same time the Nautical Branch of the State Reform School was organized in the School Ship "Massachusetts," and continued to grow from 1860, when it was opened, till September, 1869, when it contained nearly as many boys (270) as the Westborough School did (295). From that date the number in the Nautical Reform School diminished, under the policy adopted by the Board of Charities, and confirmed by the Legislature, until, in 1872, it was abolished, and its few remaining pupils transferred to Westborough. Since then, all thought of extending the Family System there seems to have been laid aside, and the Trustees of the Westborough School have returned to the policy which prevailed before 1860. If the buildings now partially constructed are completed according to the present plans, the whole edifice will

COMMITMENTS AT WESTBOROUGH.

contain about 450 boys, and will probably be filled up before many years. The outside family houses will contain but little more than 80 boys, but the whole number at Westborough might then go up to 530, or nearly as many as before the fire in 1859. The limit of age having been changed from 14 to 17 years, the age of the pupils is also several years higher than in 1863; for the younger boys now go directly into families from the courts, or are sent to the State Primary School at Monson. This fact makes the Family System less feasible at Westborough than it once was.

The laws regulating commitments at the State Reform School have been frequently changed since its opening, in 1848. Originally, any boy, convicted of any offence, except such as are punishable by imprisonment for life, might be sentenced to the School by any court or justice; and this sentence was to be alternative, *either* to the Reform School, *or* to such other punishment as previous laws imposed. They were not allowed to be sent, however, for less than one year, nor for longer than during minority; but the trustees might discharge a boy at any time. This very general power of commitment was soon found to be abused. It was too easy to get a boy sent to Westborough, and, there being no charge for board imposed on the town from which he came, nor on the friends of the boy, it was common for boys to be committed whose only offence was their dependent condition, and who ought to have been provided for in other ways. Accordingly, in 1856, an Act was passed giving the trustees discretion to assess the cost of support on towns and relatives in the same way that the cost of prisoners had been assessed. In 1859, another Act was passed requiring towns, where any boy had a lawful settlement, to pay fifty cents a week towards his support at the Reform School, so long as he should remain there. Hardly had this Act been tried, than it was found practically inoperative, because so many of the boys had no lawful settlement in any town, or, at any rate, a doubtful one. In 1859, therefore, it was enacted that the town where the boy *resided* at the time of commitment should pay the sum assessed. This provision was incorporated in the Gen-

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eral Statutes of 1860, and is now in force. It had a tendency at first to diminish the number of commitments to Westborough, but has no such effect now, it being cheaper for a city or town to pay fifty cents a week there than to support the boy in an almshouse, truant school or city reformatory. Another mode of reducing the number of commitments was to diminish the list of committing magistrates. At first, when any justice of the peace could commit, there were several thousand such magistrates. This number was reduced by the law appointing trial justices, but in 1859 was still found excessively large. Accordingly, in that year, a law was passed confining the power of commitment to the superior and probate courts, to which all trial justices and police judges were required to transfer such offenders as in their opinion were punishable by a sentence to the Reform School or the Nautical Branch. Within a few years, special justices to try juvenile offenders have been appointed by the Governor, and commitments are again increasing. Up to 1863, no change had been made in the age of boys committed, although—the "alternative" sentence being done away, and the School Ship established in 1859, expressly to receive the older boys—the age of admission at Westborough had practically been reduced very much. The present law allows boys between the ages of 7 and 17 to be sent to Westborough, where now the average age of the boys committed is about 15 years, or nearly four years greater than it was in 1860.

The government of the State Reform School is vested in a board of seven trustees, appointed by the Governor; they hold office for five years, one, and sometimes two, being appointed each year. The trustees elect the superintendent and confirm the appointment of his subordinate officers. There have been seven superintendents in twenty-eight years, each having an average term of four years in office. The present superintendent, appointed in 1874, is Mr. Allen G. Shepherd. The cost to the State of the land and buildings at Westborough has been about \$220,000, besides which about \$62,000, given by Mr. Lyman, was expended in construction;

STATISTICS OF THE REFORM SCHOOL.

making a total cost of \$280,000, which will be increased, when the additions now making are completed, to something like \$400,000. The sum paid by the State for the current expenses at Westborough has been \$1,066,000, or, adding the income derived from the fund given by Mr. Lyman, something more than \$1,100,000 in 28 years. Of this, however, probably \$150,000 has been reimbursed by the towns and cities, and as much more from the earnings of the pupils. The average number of these pupils rose from something more than 100 in the first year (1848-9) to 590 in 1858; then fell gradually to 268 in 1862; rose once more to 326 in 1866-7-8; then fell to 266 in 1872, and has since risen to 336 in 1875, and to 350 in the early part of 1876. Probably the constant average number since the school was opened in 1848 has not been far from 350, and the net weekly cost of each boy during that time about \$2, or \$100 a year.

The whole number of different boys committed to the Westborough School, up to October 1, 1875, was a little more than 4,500,—nominally, 4,512,—of whom nearly 3,000 were committed in the first fourteen years, or up to January, 1862. The number committed in the latter half of its existence, 1862-1876, has been but little more than half as many, or something above 1,500 boys. The largest number of commitments seems to have been in 1858,—271; the smallest in 1860,—only 26. Since 1865, when 100 boys were committed, the yearly number has been less than that but once, in 1870, when only 97 boys were committed. The average annual number of commitments for five years past has been about 125; for the whole 28 years, about 160. Of the 4,512 boys committed before October 1, 1875, 353 were then residing in the School, and 4,159 had been discharged or allowed to go forth. But of these 68 had died at Westborough, so that only 4,091 boys were to be accounted for as reformed, improved or incorrigible. Only 3,067 of this number (about 75 per cent.) have been heard from by the authorities since leaving Westborough; of whom 1,996 are recorded as good members of society (not quite two-thirds of those heard from, and less than half of those who have gone

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ont); while 432 are known to be bad, and 563 doubtful, members of society. Of those heard from, 256, or eight per cent., are known to have been in prison, 130 were sent back to Westborough by the courts, and 372 were returned by their masters or guardians for bad conduct. The Trustees ordered back 102 more for having left their places, and 188 returned voluntarily from their places. Those who are known to have remained during the whole term of their indenture (out of 1,831 indentured or placed on trial in families), were but 342, or a little more than one-sixth. Of the 4,091 who have left Westborough, 583, or one-seventh, have served in the army or navy,—most of them during the civil war.

It should be stated, however, in qualification of the above statistics, that 74 of these 4,091 boys were rejected as unfit subjects for the Reform School; 66 were remanded to their alternative sentence in a prison; 174 were transferred to the School Ships; 17 were pardoned or discharged by the courts; three were sent to a lunatic hospital; nine to prisons; 16 to the State Primary School; and 117 escaped from Westborough, and were never brought back. By these different processes of discharge, 476 boys are accounted for, of whom, however, it is doubtful if more than half turned out well. There were 324 more boys discharged from the School on the expiration of their sentence, all of them before October, 1863.

Out of the 3,250 boys allowed to leave Westborough before the end of their sentence (which has generally been during their minority, or until the age of 21), only 1,831 have been indentured or placed with families other than their own, while about 850 have been discharged "on probation" to their parents or other friends. Most of the latter have probably gone back to the localities whence they were taken when arrested; though such is the migratory nature of the parents of many young delinquents, that they may have changed their residence once or twice since the arrest of the boy. Of the 1,831 indentured or placed out, 1,552 were placed in Massachusetts, 86 in New Hampshire, 22 in Connecticut, 20 in Maine, 16 in Vermont, 8 in Rhode Island, 10

STATISTICS OF THE REFORM SCHOOL.

in New York, and nine only in the Western States. Of the whole 3,250 allowed to go out before the expiration of their sentence, something more than half (1,686) are reported as having been visited by officers of the School, or by the State Visiting Agent. Those who have themselves revisited the School (out of the whole 4,091) are 593, or a little more than one in seven.

On the first of October, 1875, the sentences of about 1,100 of the whole number committed (4,512) had not expired; and 763 of these boys were outside the Reform School. The whereabouts of only some 400 of these 763 boys are definitely known to the authorities, but a considerable number of them are in prison,—among them Jesse Pomeroy, now awaiting death under sentence of the court for murder. Many others have proved as incorrigible, though not so conspicuously so, as the Pomeroy lad; and it seems probable that no less than a tenth part of all the boys who leave Westborough become habitual criminals, at least for a few years. Of those actually reformed and saved, the number can only be estimated, but it probably exceeds fifty per cent., and may even reach seventy per cent. of the whole number. The rest remain in an intermediate condition between honesty and vice.

THE NAUTICAL REFORM SCHOOL.

It may be well here to narrate briefly the history of the experiment, which did not prove very successful, to carry on a School Ship or Nautical Reformatory in connection with the State Reform School at Westborough. Such an establishment, as already mentioned, was created by Act of the Legislature in 1859, during the administration of Gov. Banks, who, in a message relating to the Westborough School, soon after the fire of 1859, proceeded to recommend the establishment of a School Ship. Previous efforts for the same object had failed in 1856 and subsequently; but the occasion was now favorable, and the joint committee to whom the matter was referred reported warmly in support of the measure. The success of the English School-frigate "Akbar," at Liverpool, was cited in favor of the experiment, which was sup-

ported by the merchant-shippers of Boston. The commissioners appointed under the Resolves of 1859 to provide such a ship, were Messrs. B. C. Clark, of Boston, William T. Davis, of Plymouth, and Charles W. Upham, of Salem. They attended at once to their duty, and purchased two vessels, one a ship, the "Rockall," and the other a schooner, the "Wave," which was to serve as a tender to the ship. It proved, however, that the tender was a useless expense, and in 1861 she was sold for less than cost. The "Rockall" was purchased for \$12,000; the alterations, furniture, etc., necessary to fit her for the use of the school, and the expenses of the purchase and outfit of the "Wave," were so great that the total cost of the two vessels, as delivered to the trustees of the school on the 5th of June, 1860, was \$29,054. This was increased in the next ten years, until the whole cost of the School Ships, up to their sale in 1870 and 1872, was about \$75,000 for the vessels and their outfit. The estimate of the legislative committee had been but \$20,000; the appropriation granted was \$28,000. The amount received for the two ships, the "Massachusetts" and the "George M. Barnard," when sold, was about \$20,000; so that the net cost to the State for what in other establishments would be called the "construction account" was about \$55,000. Besides this, the State paid in current expenses during twelve years \$442,000, or an average of nearly \$37,000 a year. Of this aggregate sum, something more than \$50,000 was reimbursed by the cities and towns; but the boys on board the School Ships earned nothing, while the average weekly cost of supporting them during the twelve years was about \$3.62, or nearly \$180 a year. The average number rose from 50 in 1860 to 285 in 1867, and then fell to 100 in 1872, when the institution was abolished,—the constant average number during the twelve years being 180. The whole number of boys committed by the courts or transferred from the Westborough School was about 2,200, of whom 2,062 were committed by the courts. So many of these had previously been at Westborough, or afterwards went there, that the whole number of different boys in the two establishments has not probably

exceeded 6,400, and perhaps was no more than 6,000. Among upwards of 2,000 boys who were on board the School Ships, first and last, it is not probable that more than 700, or one-third, went to sea at all upon their discharge (although trained to be sailors), and not more than half of these became good sailors. About two-thirds of the boys were discharged upon land, and the record of their after-life, had it been accurately kept, would have been less favorable than that of the Westborough pupils. It finally became a question whether the School Ships were not doing more harm than good, by the opportunities they gave for corrupting the less hardened offenders by association with the worst boys; and for this reason, and because of its great cost, the Nautical Reformatory was finally given up. Nor is it probable that any such experiment will again be tried. The intentions of those who founded and managed it were good, but its results were, at best, very unsatisfactory. It was governed by a board of seven trustees, who appointed a superintendent; and the process of commitment to it was similar to that at Westborough, except that the boys sent were generally older, and were committed for more serious offences.

THE STATE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL AT LANCASTER.

As early as 1846, when the first steps were taken towards establishing the State Reform School, a question was raised whether such an institution should not also include girls who had fallen, or were exposed to vicious courses. The commissioners then decided in the negative, because they were unwilling to manage boys and girls in the same school. But, no sooner was the success of Westborough assured, than philanthropists began to call for a similar school for children of the other sex. Accordingly, in 1850, the General Court provided for the appointment of three commissioners "to inquire into and report the most approved, economical and efficient method of conducting Reform Schools for Girls." The gentlemen chosen for this work were Messrs. William Appleton, Joseph H. Billings, and George W. Campbell, who, on the 5th of March, 1851, made their report to the House of Rep-

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representatives. After stating the result of their inquiries, they expressed the opinion that such an institution, if established in Massachusetts, should provide, not only for girls convicted of crime, but for those in need of guardianship and control; and, moreover, that the aim should be to place such girls, as soon as possible, in reputable families, and under domestic influences. The substance of their report went to show that such provision was better than a great institution where the girls should be retained for a considerable time; and such was the clear and forcibly expressed judgment of Dr. Howe, who was consulted then and afterwards in the matter. The State, however, was not prepared to adopt this policy, and nothing further was done until 1854, when the Legislature passed Resolves appropriating \$20,000 "for the establishment of a State Reform School for Girls, similar in purpose to the State Reform School for Boys at Westborough." This money was not to be paid until an equal amount had been raised by private subscription. When this should be done, the Governor was authorized to appoint three commissioners "to select and determine the location, and prepare plans and estimates of the buildings necessary for the institution, and a system for its organization and government, to be submitted to the next legislature." These Resolves were approved by the Governor April 12, 1854, and the work of collecting private subscriptions was begun at once. Early in October the required sum of \$20,000 had been raised, and three commissioners, Messrs. John H. Wilkins and Henry B. Rogers, of Boston, and Francis B. Fay, of Lancaster, were appointed to carry out the purpose of the Resolves. They acted promptly, and in January, 1855, reported plans and estimates for four buildings, to be arranged on the Family System, at a cost of \$10,200 each. These houses were to be built of brick, and to contain accommodations for thirty girls in each; they were to be placed on a farm containing not less than forty acres, and were to be used "for the instruction, employment and reformation of exposed, helpless, evil-disposed and vicious girls." The Legislature of 1855 empowered the same commissioners to purchase land and erect buildings; and they

THE LANCASTER REFORMATORY.

accordingly purchased a farm of more than a hundred acres, in the pleasant town of Lancaster. For the land and buildings on it, they paid \$10,725; and for an additional sum of about \$4,000, they fitted up a large brick house upon the estate for one of the family schools. They also built two new houses at a cost of about \$12,500 each, and thus brought the expenses of land and buildings within the sum of \$40,300, which was at their disposal. An appropriation of \$5,000 was made by the State to furnish the buildings, and they were ready for occupancy on the 27th of August, 1856. They were dedicated on that day with appropriate ceremonies, ex-Governor Boutwell delivering the customary address. Two days after the first pupils were admitted, and on the first of October, 1856, there were 12; a year later there were 92, and the buildings soon became crowded. In 1859, an appropriation was made by the Legislature for a new brick house, which was completed and occupied in 1860, at a cost of \$9,728. In 1858 a small purchase of land had been made, and in 1861, the Stewart Estate, adjoining the school, was purchased for \$2,543. It contained about thirty-five acres of land, and had on it a good wooden house, which was fitted up and furnished for a family of twenty girls, at an expense of about \$3,000. A small church had been purchased in 1856, and moved to the centre of the grounds, at a total expense of about \$2,000. The institution includes at the present time, therefore, the following buildings: The Stillwell Mansion House, the two Family Houses of 1856, the Chapel, the Family House of 1859, and the Stewart House,—all used for the purposes of the School; and in addition, the house and barn of the superintendent, the house and barn of the farmer, and four other barns or outbuildings. In all, therefore, there are fifteen detached buildings at this institution, instead of a few great structures.

These buildings have a capacity for about 130 girls, with the matrons, teachers and domestics necessary, although at some times 150 have occupied them. They have cost with the land, furniture and improvements up to this time not far from \$90,000; while the State has paid for current expenses

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during the past twenty years not far from \$375,000, or an average of about \$19,000 a year. The average number of girls maintained at Lancaster has varied from 50 in the first year to 145 in 1870; in 1874 it fell to 93, and in 1875 to 85, but at present it is nearly 120, and will probably exceed that number in 1876. The constant average for twenty years has been not far from 120, and the average weekly cost something less than \$3, or above \$150 a year. The whole number of girls received has been 920, of whom about 120 now remain in the school, and nearly 90 are in families under indenture. Of those discharged from the institution before October 1, 1875 (800 in all), 65 had been discharged as unsuitable subjects for the school; 46 to go to hospitals or to their friends, being ill; 70 were given up in good health to their parents and friends; 24 escaped either from the school or from their place of indenture; 12 died at the school, and 498 served out their sentence or their term of indenture. It is known that more than half of these discharged girls afterwards lived respectable lives; but it is not known with any accuracy how many led bad lives, or how many were, strictly speaking, reformed. It will be noticed that the whole number of girls committed is less than one-fifth of the number of boys committed to the two State Reformatories, in the same period of nineteen years. The average age of the girls committed in 1875 was about 14½ years. Ten years ago the average age at admission was but about 13 years. The average period of detention at Lancaster is from 2½ to 3 years; but not a few of the pupils remain until they are twenty or even twenty-one.

The number of the trustees of the Lancaster School was originally seven, as at Westborough; it is now ten, of whom three are women. The superintendent is a man, but the other officers and employés, except the farmer, are all women. The pupils now live in five family houses, and each house contains a matron and assistant. There are three graded schools, with teachers, who are women. The current expenses of the school, in 1875, exceeded \$25,000, or more than the average annual cost.

PRIVATE REFORMATORIES.

PRIVATE REFORMATORIES.

The largest private reformatory in Massachusetts is the Roman Catholic *House of the Angel Guardian*, in Boston, containing some 200 boys. Other private reformatories are increasing, but are not yet numerous, although there are many Orphan Asylums and Schools for poor children, which, in some degree, perform the office of Reformatories. Of such a description is the Boston Female Asylum, which was founded in 1800; and to this class belongs also the Industrial School for Girls, at Dorchester. An instance of a private reformatory, strictly speaking, is that established in 1864 at Pine Farm, in West Newton, by the Children's Aid Society. The buildings there are large enough for thirty boys, and they usually contain about that number, who are taken from the Suffolk Jail, from the streets, etc., in Boston. They are taught in books and in work, and, after a brief residence at the School, are indentured or given in adoption. A similar institution has been opened in Salem, for vicious and neglected children in that city. It was founded by the bequest of Miss Caroline Plummer, nearly twenty years ago, and now possesses a fund of many thousand dollars; it is also supported, in part, by the city of Salem. The Reformatories at Lowell and Lawrence are municipal institutions, like the Boston House of Reformation; that at Lowell is thirty years old, that at Lawrence has been opened but a few years. The Truant Schools in other cities are a species of local reformatory. The State Visiting Agency, which is a valuable auxiliary to the public reformatory system of Massachusetts, will be described in connection with the State Primary School at Monson.

The Asylum for Discharged Female Prisoners at Dedham, opened in 1864, is a private reformatory for adults. Properly speaking, it belongs to the same class as the Female Refuges of England and Ireland, and should be reckoned as an auxiliary of the prison system, like those. It does a good work, which ought to be extended as fast as possible.

THE STATE ALMSHOUSES.

It has already been explained, in the early part of this Report, how the class of dependents known as "state paupers," originated in Massachusetts. Before 1792, in which year we find the payments for this class first separately given (the amount being \$6,639.54), the rudiments of our present system already existed by legal enactment, with the exception of the comparatively new feature of state almshouses. We had state paupers, an alien passenger law, and a law for removals, all indispensable parts of a thorough system of state support for the poor. In the next forty years, as we have seen, the number and cost of the state's poor greatly increased; and there was shadowed forth in various official reports, from 1820 to 1833, the policy of state control, state almshouses, separation of families, and discontinuance of out-door relief, which was finally adopted in 1852, under the pressure of foreign immigration. The law and custom then was, that the towns should support the state paupers, and receive partial reimbursement from the state treasury. Under this usage, the state pauper expenses from 1831 to 1840, both inclusive, were \$493,414, or about \$50,000 a year, besides the cost of the State Lunatic Hospital; and from 1841 to 1851, were \$706,687, or upwards of \$70,000 a year, besides the expenses of the various charitable institutions where many state paupers were supported. It should be remembered that for several years previous to 1850, only a part of the cost for their support was paid from the state treasury. In 1850, Governor Briggs laid before the General Court a statement, by which it appeared that in eleven years, 1837-48, \$895,706 had been paid to support state paupers, of which the State's share was \$644,454, and that of the towns, \$251,252. This is at the rate of over \$80,000 a year for the whole time. During the same period the state paupers increased in number from 4,846 in 1837, to 9,431 in 1848, or nearly 100 per cent.; while the town paupers scarcely increased at all. The increase in foreign-born paupers was still more noteworthy. From 2,870 in 1837, they rose to 7,413 in 1848; that is to say, they nearly trebled.

THE STATE ALMSHOUSE SYSTEM.

The increase in population during the same period was about thirty-three per cent. According to another statement, the sum paid by the State for its paupers between 1848 and 1854, both inclusive, was \$515,626, or an average of \$103,125 a year; their number, meanwhile, having increased from 9,431 in 1848, to 16,154 in 1851, and then falling to 14,831 in 1853. It is probable that these figures are not exact, but they represent well enough the general condition of things.

Alarmed by these facts, the General Court, in 1851, established a Board of Alien Commissioners, one of whose duties it was to examine and correct the pauper accounts sent in by the towns. They discovered that no less than \$22,331 of the sums claimed by the towns in one year were not justly due; and they reduced the number of genuine state paupers to 10,267. But a more thorough and permanent relief was sought, and in 1852 the necessary measures were taken by the General Court. On the 30th of April, 1852, a committee of the Senate and House reported in favor of the establishment of three State Almshouses, and the repairing of the buildings on Rainsford Island for a pauper hospital. This report was written by Judge Warren; it is brief and direct, treating the question as one which no longer needed argument, but action. It gave this statement, in view of which the new system was adopted:—

"The actual cost to the people of the Commonwealth for the year 1851, for the support of paupers having no legal settlement among us, was nearly \$212,000. This sum includes the amount paid from the public treasury, the support of such paupers by towns where no allowance was made to them therefor, and the difference when such allowance was made between the sum allowed and the estimated cost of the support afforded. The whole number of such paupers applying for aid in the year 1851 was 10,267, of whom 8,527 were foreigners or born of foreign parents, and the average number in our almshouses and hospitals throughout the year was between 2,000 and 2,400."

In January, 1853, the Almshouse Commissioners reported that they had decided on the location of the three farms, which were to consist of 143 acres (at Tewksbury), 145 acres (at

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Bridgewater), and 172 acres (at Monson). They also decided to build the State Almshouses of wood, and made contracts for building them large enough to contain each five hundred inmates; and they had nearly completed the repairs at Rainsford Island. The sum total of expenses incurred by them had then been about \$125,000. Their appropriation was about \$105,000; so that they had overdrawn their account nearly \$20,000. In fact, before the almshouses were completed, they had cost \$220,000; and they have now cost upwards of \$500,000, or more than four times what was originally intended. The "construction account" of the Tewksbury Almshouse alone is now more than \$250,000. They were opened for the reception of the state poor in May, 1854.

The first effect of this application, of what in England is termed "the workhouse test," was to increase the apparent number of the state paupers. In 1843 the whole number for whose support the State paid anything to towns and cities was about 9,000, and the average number about 2,300; * but in 1853 the whole number had been reduced to less than 6,000, and the average number to about 1,900. In 1855, however, —the first complete year of the new almshouses,—the apparent whole number ran up to more than 7,500, and in 1858 it touched 9,000 again, while the average number rose from 2,200 in 1855 to 3,300 in 1858. This disheartening and paradoxical result was due to several causes, the chief of which was a lax administration of the laws, and the fact that until 1854 the State had paid only for such persons as were unable to perform any labor. The addition of the partially able-bodied no doubt increased the number by at least ten per cent., and in exceptional years, like 1858, perhaps twenty per cent. But with that year a salutary change began in the supervision of the poor-law administration, the influence of which has been increasingly felt up to the present time, and will long continue to benefit Massachusetts.

* The sum actually paid by the State towards the support of these persons for some years preceding 1852 was a mere pittance,—only forty-nine cents a week for adults and children over twelve, and only twenty-eight cents a week for children under twelve; the average weekly payment for both classes being about thirty-nine cents. At that time the actual cost to the towns was just about *three times* as much, or one dollar and eight cents a week.

THE STATE PAUPER SYSTEM.

The law of 1852 had been drawn up and carried through the Legislature by Judge Warren with little opposition, so pressing was the need of some measure of the kind, and so clear and conclusive were the arguments of that distinguished magistrate.* But in the six years that ensued, amid the natural friction of new laws and new powers of administration, the state almshouse system fell into great disrepute, and needed more than any part of the state government the guiding hand of an able and public-spirited man. Such a man was found in Henry B. Wheelwright, who from 1858 to 1868 (as chairman of the Alien Commission until October, 1863, and then as a General Agent of the Board of Charities) rendered arduous and valuable services. Under his vigorous measures the State Almshouses soon ceased to be asylums for the paupers of other States and of the towns of Massachusetts. The average number fell from 3,300 in 1850 to scarcely more than 2,100 in 1859, and to less than 2,000 in 1860. At the same time greater efficiency and humanity were introduced into all departments of the administration; the cases of tens of thousands of poor persons were patiently investigated, and many were removed to their homes or to the care of friends without entering the almshouse. If admitted there, other investigations were made, and other thousands were humanely removed to the places justly chargeable with their support. Meantime the classification of applicants for relief, which could never be effected before 1854, and had been too much neglected afterwards, was in part provided for.

As developed under the Alien Commission and the Board of Charities, the state pauper system of Massachusetts included the following measures :—

1. A gradual extension of the laws of settlement so as to give the right of local relief to at least three-fourths of the poor properly resident in the State.

* After the creation of the Board of Charities for the general oversight of the charitable and correctional institutions of Massachusetts, Judge Warren was induced to take part as a member of the Board in the administration of the system of which he was the founder, and gave to this work a portion of his leisure, to the great advantage of the public.

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2. Support of the remaining number at the expense of the State, in establishments suited to the wants of the sick, the aged and the young children, with employment for such as could labor, and instruction for those who could profit by it.

3. The means of classifying the applicants for relief, so as to separate vagrants and persons chargeable to towns and to other States from those properly belonging to Massachusetts, as state charges; and of removing all except the last class to their place of settlement, or to some other suitable abode.

4. Classification of the state paupers themselves, so that those whose poverty was occasioned by vicious lives should undergo the restraint of a workhouse; and the insane be separated from the sane, in order to receive a treatment adapted to their condition; while children of the school age were either to be carefully taught in a state school or placed under supervision in good families of country towns. The sick were to have good hospital treatment, but the able-bodied, unless vicious, were not to be detained in almshouses.

5. Out-door relief for such as, on account of sickness, or for other sufficient cause, ought not to be sent to an almshouse; such relief to be furnished by the local authorities at the expense of the State.

6. Supervision of this out-door relief, and of the general management of the overseers of the poor; with regular reports from those officers to the State authorities in regard to the mode and cost of relieving the poor in the towns and cities.

7. Such relations with all the charitable institutions in the State as to facilitate the best disposal of all the subjects of charity with whom the State had to deal.

8. Such relations with neighboring States, and such restrictions on the introduction of paupers by land or sea, as would enable Massachusetts to receive all that properly belong to her, while forbidding to enter, or sending from the State, those who had no right to a support in Massachusetts.

At the end of nearly twenty years since this policy, initiated by Judge Warren, but first fairly inaugurated by Dr. Wheelwright, began to take uninterrupted effect, say in 1858, we have a right to say that it has been eminently successful. Almost immediately after it began, the trade of the whole country was thrown into confusion by the financial panic of 1857-8; and three years later the storm of civil war burst

RESULTS OF THE STATE ALMSHOUSE SYSTEM.

upon us. Yet in spite of these and other natural stimulants of pauperism, so steady and so wise has been the administration of public charity in Massachusetts, that now, though large sums of money have been expended, the growth of pauperism has actually been checked, as was shown on a previous page of this Report. The Board of State Charities can properly claim that a large part of this result is owing to the active and constant efforts of its members; since the measures it recommended for this purpose did, so far as can be judged, have the general effect they were intended to produce. But before considering the establishment of this Board in 1863, let us notice more particularly what for the first ten years (1854-64) were the operations of Judge Warren's State Almshouse system.

With all its defects, which were many, and which are not yet wholly removed, this system, as pursued in the three great almshouses at Tewksbury, Monson and Bridgewater, did produce certain clear and obvious benefits. It checked, regulated and made manageable the great influx of foreign pauperism which had been pouring into the Commonwealth for twenty years. It furnished the means, not only of supporting, but of sifting and reducing what would otherwise have been a most formidable collection of helpless creatures, drawn hither by the reputation of Massachusetts charity, or thrown among us by chance. Such, in general, were its results. If we descend to particulars, we find that financially it proved superior to the old method of town support. It appears by the returns of the towns year after year, that while their investment in almshouse property is fourfold that which the State has made, they still do not, as a whole, maintain their poor so cheaply or so comfortably. The average cost of maintaining a pauper in a town almshouse was in 1864 \$1.70; in the State Almshouses, by the most extravagant computation, even if Rainsford Hospital is reckoned as an almshouse, it fell short of \$1.50. In 1875, while the cost of the paupers in the sole remaining State Almshouse at Tewksbury was less than \$2.20 a week, in the town and city almshouses it had gone up to \$2.75 or more.

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THE BOARD OF STATE CHARITIES.

The first suggestion of such a Board as now exists under this title was made in the report of a joint special committee of the Legislature of 1858, which reported at some length in 1859. The members of the committee were John Morissey, William Fabens, Charles Hale, George M. Brooks and Dexter F. Parker. They recommended a Board similar to that established at the immediate suggestion of Gov. Andrew in 1863; but no action was had until the latter year, when the present Board was created by legislative enactment, and the original members, seven in number, were appointed by Governor Andrew. They were Otis Norcross, of Boston, Nathan Allen, M. D., of Lowell, Edward Earle, of Worcester, Robert T. Davis, M. D., of Fall River, Theodore Metcalf, of Boston, Henry B. Wheelwright, of Taunton, and F. B. Sanborn, of Concord. Mr. Norcross was the first Chairman, chosen in October, 1863; Mr. Sanborn was the first Secretary, and Dr. Wheelwright the first General Agent. Dr. Allen succeeded Mr. Norcross as Chairman in October, 1864, and Dr. Howe, who was appointed in Mr. Norcross's vacancy as a member of the Board, succeeded Dr. Allen in October, 1865. In October, 1874, Dr. Howe declined a reelection, and Mr. Moses Kimball (who was appointed a member of the Board in Judge Warren's vacancy in 1868), being elected Chairman, declined the position. Mr. Sanborn was then chosen Chairman (Oct. 15, 1874) and was reelected in 1875. Mr. Sanborn resigned the place of Secretary in 1868, and was succeeded by Mr. J. L. Clarke, who in turn resigning in 1869, was succeeded by Mr. E. L. Pierce. Upon Mr. Pierce's resignation in 1874, Mr. Sidney Andrews, the present Secretary, was appointed. Dr. Wheelwright resigned the general agency in 1868, and was succeeded by Mr. S. C. Wrightington, the present General Agent. The other members of the Board have been Messrs. Theodore Metcalf, J. C. Blaisdell, C. H. Warren and C. F. Donnelly; and the present members are Dr. Allen, Messrs. Earle, Kimball, Donnelly, Sanborn, Wrightington and Andrews. Of these, the two first named

THE BOARD OF CHARITIES.

have served twelve years and more, Mr. Sanborn upwards of eleven years, Messrs. Kimball and Wrightington more than seven years, Mr. Andrews about a year and a half, and Mr. Donnelly less than half a year. The Secretary and General Agent alone receive salaries; the other five members serving without compensation, except for their travelling expenses, which amount to less than \$500 a year. All are appointed by the governor; the salaried members serving for three years, and the unsalaried members for five. The general work of the Board of Charities has already been mentioned; its powers are by no means coextensive with its duties, which include a supervision, both general and special, of all the institutions of charity, reform or correction supported or aided by the State. It has the power of admission and transfer to several of these establishments, and of discharge from several others; it has other advisory powers, but cannot control directly the management of any public establishment. It began in 1863 with two departments or bureaus; these were increased to four in 1869 (when the Visiting Agent and the Special Agent for the Sick Poor were appointed under the statutes), and have now been reduced to three. The cost of the Board and its departments from October, 1863, to January, 1876, has been about \$430,000; of which \$152,000 was expended before 1870, and nearly \$280,000 since 1870. Before 1870, the Board collected and paid into the state treasury more than \$250,000; since 1870 about \$100,000; the decrease in collections being due to the abolition of "head-money" paid for immigrants up to 1872. The cost of the Secretary's department for twelve years has been about \$100,000; of the General Agent's department, about \$175,000; of the visiting agency, for nine years, about \$100,000; of the special agency, for seven years, about \$45,000; of the Board alone, for twelve years, about \$10,000.

The first two years of the Board's existence were spent in examining the public establishments, correcting abuses and omissions, and collecting information; the two Chairmen during that period being Mr. Norcross and Dr. Allen, both well qualified for this work of inquiry and detail. With the elec-

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tion of Dr. Howe as Chairman, in 1865, a new period commenced,—the statement and dissemination of principles, the shaping of legislation, and the general reconstruction of a State policy well befitting the turn of Dr. Howe's mind.

In his first report, published in 1866, he thus laid down the general principles of public charity for Massachusetts:—

"In considering what measures ought to be taken for the care and treatment of the dependent and vicious classes, we are to bear in mind several principles.

"1. That if, by investing one dollar, we prevent an evil the correction of which would cost ten cents a year, we save four per cent.

"2. That it is better to separate and diffuse the dependent classes, than to congregate them.

"3. That we ought to avail ourselves as much as possible of those remedial agencies which exist in society,—the family, social influences, industrial occupations, and the like.

"4. That we should enlist, not only the greatest possible amount of popular sympathy, but the greatest number of individuals and of families, in the care and treatment of the dependent.

"5. That we should avail ourselves of responsible societies and organizations which aim to reform, support or help any class of dependents, thus lessening the direct agency of the State, and enlarging that of the people themselves.

"6. That we should build up public institutions only in the last resort.

"7. That these should be kept as small as is consistent with wise economy, and arranged so as to turn the strength and the faculties of the inmates to the best account.

"8. That we should not retain the inmates any longer than is manifestly for their good, irrespective of their usefulness in the institution."

Upon these principles much of the Board's work for the past ten years has been done, as has already been shown in part. Proceeding in accordance with them, and with the State Pauper system set forth on a previous page, the Board gradually caused the substitution of a State Workhouse for the Almshouse at Bridgewater (in 1866); a State Primary School for the Almshouse at Monson (in 1866); and a Visiting Agency for the Nautical Reformatory (in the years from 1866

CHANGES OF THE CHARITABLE SYSTEM.

to 1872). The sole remaining State Almshouse at Tewksbury was (in 1866) converted in part to an Asylum for the Chronic Insane, and a pauper hospital; and instead of the Rainsford Island Hospital, an Agency for local relief to the sick state poor was substituted. At the same time the laws of pauper settlement have been so amended as to allow many thousands of the poor who were formerly State paupers, to be relieved in their own cities and towns. Two deaf-mute schools have also been opened, as before mentioned, and the charge of the education, both of the deaf and the blind, has been put where it properly belongs, upon the revenue for schools, instead of that for charities. An Infant Asylum has also been established (in 1867) and aided from the state treasury. All these changes have been favored, and most of them were originated, by the Board of Charities.

THE TEWKSBURY STATE ALMSHOUSE.

This establishment now costs the State nearly \$100,000 a year; and for the twenty-one years and eight months since it was opened in 1854, the State has paid, in current expenses, about \$1,400,000. The constant average number of inmates has been about 800, and the average weekly cost of each not quite \$1.75. In 1875 the cost was about \$95,000 for an average number of 850,—something more than \$2 a week. The whole number of inmates has doubtless exceeded 35,000,* of whom nearly 5,000 have died at Tewksbury, including the insane. The deaths of children under five have been 1,715; the births not quite 1,500. There have been but two superintendents,—the present incumbent, Mr. T. J. Marsh having been appointed in 1858. He holds by direct appointment from the governor, but a board of three inspectors confirm or reject his subordinate officers, and regulate his expenses and general management. There is a physician, an assistant physician, a small corps of nurses for the sick, and attendants for the insane; the number of hospital

* The number of inmates in the three State Almshouses has exceeded 60,000; the deaths have been less than 9,000, since May, 1854.

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patients being about one hundred and fifty, and of the insane less than three hundred.

THE BRIDGEWATER STATE WORKHOUSE.

This takes the place of the old almshouse, and is still quite as much an almshouse as a prison. It has cost in construction since 1852, about \$175,000, and in current expenses about \$800,000, for a constant average of inmates, since 1854, of about 500, showing an average weekly cost of less than \$1.50. In 1875 the cost was less than \$40,000 for an average of 435 inmates,—about \$1.80 a week. The whole number of inmates of Bridgewater has been less than 20,000 since 1854, of whom about 2,800 have died there. Only two superintendents have been appointed,—Mr. L. L. Goodspeed from 1854 to 1871, and Mr. Nahum Leonard since Mr. Goodspeed's resignation. The government is similar to that at Tewksbury, and appointed in the same way. More than half of the inmates, under the Workhouse Act of 1866, are transferred to Bridgewater from Tewksbury.

THE MONSON STATE PRIMARY SCHOOL.

This takes the place of the Monson State Almshouse, in which the number of children was always large, and of late years has been nearly nine-tenths of all the inmates. The land and buildings have cost, since 1852, about \$160,000, and nearly \$1,000,000 has been paid for current expenses, of which \$450,000 was paid before the opening of the State Primary School in September, 1866, and more than \$530,000 since. The constant average number before 1867 was about 612; since 1866, about 475; during 1875 it was nearly 500, and the current expenses were about \$42,000. The average weekly cost is now about \$1.75, and for the whole period has been about that sum, perhaps. It has received in all less than 20,000 inmates, of whom only 1,160 have died there. The great majority of its inmates have, lately, been children under the age of sixteen,—the average being about ten years. It has had three superintendents, all physicians,—Dr. S. D. Brooks, Dr. J. M. Brewster (appointed in

THE PRIMARY SCHOOL AND VISITING AGENCY.

1858), and Dr. H. P. Wakefield, appointed in 1868. Its government is like that of the Tewksbury Almshouse, but the superintendent acts as resident physician. The children of this school are now by law no longer paupers, though most of them come from the State pauper class, and are transferred to Monson, by the Board of Charities, from Tewksbury. Pupils are admitted and discharged by vote of the Board, but cannot remain beyond the age of sixteen, except for special reasons. The law directs that they shall be placed in good families as speedily as possible, and in this way a hundred or more pupils are provided with places in each year.

THE STATE VISITING AGENCY.

The present Visiting Agency is an outgrowth of the State Primary School, and both originated with the Board of State Charities. Dr. Howe gave the first hint for this Agency in his letter to Mr. William Appleton twenty years ago; and the same plan was advocated by Mr. Kimball in 1863, for the city of Boston. Having recommended and secured the establishment of a separate school for poor children at Monson, in 1866, the Board at once put in practice this plan of sending an agent to visit the children indentured or placed in families, and to find places for others. For nearly three years—from October, 1866, to August, 1869—this agency was directed either by the Board of Charities or by the Inspectors at Monson and Tewksbury, at a small expense, yet doing a great deal of good. The first Visiting Agent appointed by the Board of Charities was Mr. Gordon M. Fisk, of Palmer, then and for several years before and afterward, one of the Inspectors of the Monson establishment. His labors during the first year, from October, 1866, to October, 1867, were mostly confined to visiting and finding places for the children from the Monson establishment. Up to October, 1866 (twelve years), the number of children placed in families from the Monson almshouse had been nominally 912, but really 821, or an average of about 70 in a year. During the first year of Mr. Fisk's agency, 156 children were placed out from Monson, or more than twice the former average. Including these, the

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number supposed to be subject to visitation during the first year was 759, and of these 495 were visited by Mr. Fisk in that year. He also found 147 families willing and suitable to take children, many of whom actually did take them during the year. He made 609 visits, an average of about two in a day for each working day of the year, at a cost to the State of about \$1,500; namely, \$1,200 for his salary, and about \$300 for travelling and other expenses. In the second year of the Agency (1867-8), Mr. Fisk made 624 visits to 564 children, found places for 83 children, and placed out from the Monson establishment 114 different children during the year. He also took some oversight of the children placed out from Westborough, Lancaster, and Bridgewater; collected more than \$2,000 due to children from their employers and others, and all at an expense of less than \$1,600. During a portion of the year 1869, also, Mr. Fisk served as Visiting Agent, at a cost of about \$1,500; and when the salaried office of Visiting Agent was created by the Legislature in 1869, he became one of the deputies of the new officer, Mr. Gardiner Tufts. During portions of 1868-9, Mr. G. P. Elliott, one of the Inspectors of the Tewksbury Almshouse, acted as a visiting agent for that institution, under direction of the Board of Charities, and the board of Inspectors of the Almshouse.

The statute of 1869, establishing permanently, and extending the scope of, the Visiting Agency of the Board of Charities, has now existed, with various modifications, for more than six years, and under it Mr. Gardiner Tufts has been at the head of this department of the Board's work. Under his direction much more work has been done than the single agent of the Board could accomplish, for he has employed a force numbering from six to ten persons, and has incurred large expenses. In the calendar year 1869, Mr. Tufts expended \$5,044 in six months; in 1870, \$13,152; in 1871, \$14,585; in 1872, \$15,330; in 1873, \$16,800; in 1874, \$16,978, and in 1875, \$15,146. In all, therefore, he has expended since July 12, 1869, about \$97,000; to which, if we add the five or six thousand dollars previously expended, the whole cost of the Visiting Agency since October 1, 1866,

THE VISITING AGENCY.

will exceed \$100,000, during the nine years and upward that it has existed. In that time it has given personal attention to the cases of perhaps 2,500 different children who had been placed in families from the various State establishments, and it has collected information by correspondence concerning several hundred more. It has given attention at the lower courts, which try juvenile offenders, to the cases of more than 8,000 children in six years, and has found places, by seeking them, for several hundred children who might otherwise have remained in the great establishments. It thus diminished the number in those establishments for several years, and might do so still more were the work of the Agency more localized instead of being made too dependent upon the decisions and delays of a central bureau in Boston. A proposition is now before the legislature to make the work of the Agency more effective by increasing the number of local supervisors or guardians of poor children. This is the policy initiated in Michigan, the only other State which has established either a Visiting Agency or a State Primary School. The amount of good that can be done by each of these institutions, and still more by both working together efficiently and harmoniously, is so great, that it is very desirable the best organization of both should be had in all the States. Massachusetts took the lead in this as in many other charitable undertakings, and our experience may well be studied in other communities. We are as yet in the first stage of the experiment; but we are moving forward towards something better and better. The parental care of the State does now make itself felt by these poor and vicious children of the State, and has shielded them from many evils and dangers since the policy of guardianship was fully entered upon in 1866, when the Monson State Primary School was established by law. This policy has been set forth by Dr. Howe and his colleagues in many of their annual Reports; its results have perhaps nowhere been more concisely stated than by the first Visiting Agent, Mr. Fisk, in his report for 1868:—

“Whatever of good the Visiting Agency may have accomplished, whatever wrongs it may have corrected, whatever of cheer and com-

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fort it may have carried to the orphan, . . . every day brings new responsibilities, new anxiety, and this anxiety is always urgent. It says,—

'Go, pilgrim, on thy march; be more
Friend to the friendless than thou wast before.'

It has been my privilege to bring together brothers and sisters long separated, and in some instances forgotten by each other; to restore to parents their long-lost children; to be as a father to the fatherless and a friend to the friendless; to be their counsellor and help in misfortune; to visit them when sick or in prison, and to follow some of them to the portals of the tomb."

In this noble and truly Christian spirit, every task of those charities which relate to children ought to be undertaken and carried on. The State Primary School was fortunate in having for its first Principal a clergyman (Rev. Charles F. Foster), who in this spirit, for more than eight years, taught, encouraged, protected and guided the 2,000 pupils who, in that period of time, were inmates of his classes at Monson. He did much to make successful an experiment in the education of pauper children which had many obstacles to encounter, but which has now become a recognized part of the public charities of Massachusetts. By the thoughtful care of the Legislature of 1866, the pupils of the Monson School were legally exempted from the class of paupers when once admitted to that School; just as the blind and deaf children have had their education withdrawn from the grudging hand of the almsgiver, and put upon the common level of that instruction to which all children are entitled by the laws and traditions of Massachusetts. The Visiting Agency brings this principle one step further forward, and provides the orphan, the forlorn, and the erring child with a family home, and the protection of a friendly guardian. It may be that this will be reckoned hereafter the culmination and flower of our whole charitable system.

THE MASSACHUSETTS INFANT ASYLUM.

But the Commonwealth has gone a little farther yet, and, without imitating the benevolent but ill-judged institution of

THE INFANT ASYLUM.

foundling hospitals, so long established in Europe, has taken thought even for the helpless infant of some deserted or erring mother. In 1867, upon the request of many humane men and women of Boston and its vicinity, the Legislature chartered a new charity, the *Massachusetts Infant Asylum*, which was to receive, cherish and place in families young children who would otherwise die, or (what is almost the same thing) be sent to a great almshouse or hospital. This establishment has been kept small, as was intended by its founders; but it has admitted in eight years more than 400 infants under two years, of whom only 155 have died in its care. It has received aid from the State amounting now to five or six thousand dollars a year, nearly all its inmates belonging to the state poor. It has also been liberally supported by private charity, and endowed by several benefactors, the largest donation yet received (\$20,000) being the joint gift of Mr. Theodore Lyman (son of the founder of the Westborough School) and his wife. This Asylum, which has the merits, with few of the defects, of a foundling hospital, has lately occupied a new building at Roxbury, within the limits of Boston, and supports thirty or forty infants, some of whom are boarded out in families. Like the Primary School and the Visiting Agency, it may be considered as an offshoot of the State Almshouse system, since it was a knowledge of the great mortality among infants in large almshouses that led to its establishment.

CONCLUSION.

Without considering the State Prison, which is scarcely a public charity, though under the supervision of the Board of Charities, and without dwelling on the municipal charities administered by Overseers of the Poor (more than a thousand in number) in the 342 towns and cities of Massachusetts, or the innumerable private charities, this Report may well close here. Particular accounts of each charitable establishment, as to the details of its work and methods, must be obtained from the managers of each, who, no doubt, have already supplied the Massachusetts Centennial Commission

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with what is needful to display its operations. This Report has aimed chiefly to present an historical and statistical view of the Public Charities,—showing how they originated, by what principles they have been governed or modified, and what individuals have from time to time given a new direction to their activity. The names of many persons have been necessarily omitted, who had a great share in what has been done; but this will be the more readily forgiven by those who remember that it is the whole People of Massachusetts—rather than any personages, however powerful, gifted or generous—who have created, and do now sustain, the great fabric of our charities. In the broad philanthropy, the kindly and shrewd intelligence, the deep sympathies, the plain good sense, the practical Christianity of this People, will be found the moving cause of all that has been done to relieve suffering and to elevate mankind in our Commonwealth. To this affectionate, magnanimous People, whose exploits fill so glorious a page of history, but whose best record is in their social and domestic institutions, I inscribe this imperfect sketch.

F. B. SANBORN.

CONCORD, February 1, 1876.

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